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Islamic Series No. 5

Islam in India and the Middle East

Compiled By

S. M. AHMED, U.P.C.S. (Rtd.)

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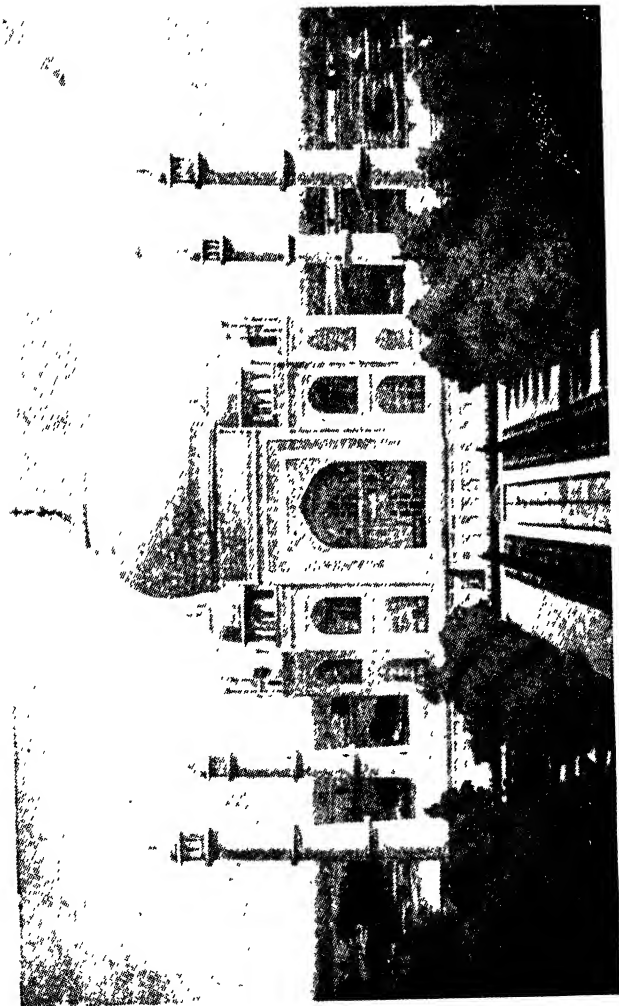
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TAJ

EDITOR'S NOTE

When the executive Committee of the Abbas Manzil Library (publishing section) decided to include in their Islamic series, four English books, *viz.*, The Preaching of Islam by Sir Thos. Arnold, The Legacies of Islam by the same author and his associates, The Development of Islamic Theology and Jurisprudence by Duncan B. Macdonald, and the Spirit of Islam by Sir Amir Ali, they were confronted with the objections from the publishing houses still holding their copyrights soon after their announcement and these books had to be dropped from their programme. To fill the gap caused by this unforeseen incident, the Committee at my own suggestion resolved to substitute them by four books under the following titles:—

- 1—Islam in India and the Middle East.
- 2—Islam in China and the Far East.
- 3—Islam in Africa and the Near East.
- 4—Islam in U.S.S.R., Europe and Turkey.

and put upon me the responsibility of bringing out these books from the materials found scattered in above-named books and several other books in English. Collection of books was easy as the Library itself is the storehouse of all English books on Islamic subjects, current as well as out of print, but to edit a book from these musty tomes was rather a large order, almost Herculean for any

body. I undertook the work, however, being equally interested and enthused with the aim of the library to promote healthy Islamic knowledge in both national and universal languages—Urdu and English—and here is my poor attempt, with apologies to Arnold, Mark Sykes, Lane Poole, Hunter, Risley, Moreland, Irvine, Law and hosts of other Indologists and orientalists who could be very easily recognised in this concoction, as advisedly, I have retained their own vocabulary and phrase in preference to my poor English, only omitting their footnotes of authority which the readers are advised to consult in the original. Where English books have failed me to supply material on any relevant subject, I have fallen on Urdu and Persian books and this too can be readily recognised by the contrast of which the editor takes the entire responsibility.

So, with best wishes to our readers for a few delightful hours they are expected to pass with this book.

S. M. A.

CHAPTER I

THE MILITARY CONQUESTS

Indo-Persian Continent.

Indo-Persian continent is the old home of the Aryans, a compact mass of land spreading down to sea from the huge mountain barrier of the north, called Himalaya in India, Kara Koram in Pakistan, Hindu Kush in Afghanistan, Damane Khurassan and Marzendran in Persia and Caucasus in Caucasia. Within this huge unbroken continuous high wall in the north, and the deep sea moats in the south lies this continent. To the north is ancient Scythia (now U.S.S.R., Europe and Turkey), to the east the land of Mongols and to the west the land of Semitics, Hamitics, Negroes and Bantus. On the right and left wings two hills guarding her like sentinel, the Zagoras (now called Pusht-e-Koh) and Naga Hills complete its natural encirclement to make it one self-contained continent having all the factors and features, geographical, historical and ethnological to mark it one of the major divisions of the globe distinguished from other portions of the land.

Racially it is peopled by ancient Aryan race upto Vindhya, the middle belt of rocks in Hindustan. South of this is the home of Dravidians, a negroid race, Aryanised and Hinduised long before Islam made its ap-

pearance and at present their culture, religion, tradition customs and manners is so thoroughly merged with Aryan Civilisation and Hindu polity that they may be considered as sub-Aryan race. Politically it is as unequally and irrationally divided between national states and governments as the other continents of the world. The Persian state largest in extent but poorest in natural products and resources is mainly composed of Persian speaking people, but within its confines live about three millions Kurds and five millions Turks in west and north-west and about a million of Baluchis in south-east. Similarly Afghanistan the next largest state is not wholly peopled by Pushtu speaking people. To the north of Hindu Kush live Uzbeks and Tajiks whose land extends beyond Afghanistan border into U.S.S.R. as the Azarbaijanis of Persia have a major part of their land in the U.S.S.R. Among the pure Pakhtun race south of Hindu Kush live a large number of Aimaks and Hazaras the descendants of old Mongol invaders. Then Pakistan is a hotch-potch of nationalities and languages bound with silken Islamic cord, not very strong or substantial. Pakistan has encroached on the nationalities of Afghanistan and has under her control about ten millions of that people in an area as large as the rest of Pakistan itself and not yet reconciled to pan-Islamic sentiments artificially imposed on them by their alien rulers. Kashmir, Punjab and Sindh are separate but contiguous entities and might be held by one Government but the strangest position is held by a part of Bengal lying to the other end of the continent. Normally this should be merged with its counterpart in the

Indian continent to form with Assam one independent whole state for itself, but the fanaticism and follies engendered by religion has thrown the lot of one to India and the other to Pakistan. Then India holds the remaining national states comprising Tamil Nad, Andhra, Utkal, Gujerat, Rajasthan, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, East Punjab, Maharashtra, Kannada, Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, each a state with its own language and culture in its grip on the sole ground of common religious sentiment. It is as if one were to form a Government in the world on the basis of Christianity, Islam and Buddhism! Ceylon, Nepal on its fringe in north and south have independent existence of their own.

Religiously the continent is divided between Hinduism and Islam, in proportion of one to two, in other words, out of nearly 450 millions people in this continent, about a hundred and fifty millions are Muslims, and three hundred millions Hindus. In between are thrown small minorities of other persuasions, Christianity, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Jainism, Sikhism and Buddhism, but except with Christian and Sikhs who could be counted in small millions, the rest are less than a million.

The first contact of Islam.

The first contact of Islam with this continent was the historical event of Khusro Parvez the Persian monarch addressed by Prophet Mohammad in 7 A.H. with an epistle inviting him to Islam. The second event partly legendary and partly historical was the voluntary and secret conversion of Zamorin of Malabar to Islam on his

seeing the wondrous sign of heaven in the splitting asunder of the moon, referred to in Chapter 54 of the Quraan and apprised by his astrologers of the advent of a great world teacher in Arabia.

The letter which the Prophet sent to Khusro Parvez was taken to his Court at Ptesiphon, his winter seat of Government in Mesopotamia by Abdullah bin Huzafah and was worded as follows:

“In the name of Allah, the Kind and Merciful. From Mohammad the Prophet to Khusro the Great of Persia. Peace unto him who follows the right path and believes in God and His Apostle, attests the unity of God and my Apostleship for the whole world that he may warn every living being. Accept Islam and thou shalt be saved, reject it and thou shalt bear the burden of sin of thyself and of thy people on thy shoulder.”

Khusro Parvez dazed at this impunity of a mere Arab whom he, out of his folly and conceit considered his subject, to address him direct and that too by preceding his own name to his, tore up the letter and turned out the messenger. On being informed the conduct of Khusro, the Prophet murmured, even so his kingdom shall be torn to pieces.

Khusro Parvez not content with this insulting behaviour sent order to his governor of Yemen, Bazan to have the pretender of Prophecy arrested and brought to his presence. When Babuya and Khar Khusro his emissaries came to Medina for this purpose, they were told by the Prophet that this very night Khusro has been murdered by his son. Returning, the emissaries in-

formed the governor who kept quiet until the news was confirmed by official sources. On learning the truth, he immediately embraced Islam and made himself independent in Yemen. Within seven years of this episode the Arabs were at the gate of Ptesiphon and tore the Empire of Persia to pieces.

The historicity of the other event has been vouched by Saiyed Suleiman Nadvi, a learned divine and sometimes the director of Shibli Academy, Azamgarh. In one of his lectures delivered to the students of Madras University, he has mentioned that he met a Hindu gentleman from Kerala who has become a convert to Islam and took his name Ghulam Mohammad, had told him how he came across with a very ancient Sanskrit Mss. in the archives of his country which has mentioned this event. The same thing is confirmed by one Punjabi Hindu who headed a commission of enquiry to Malabar about the alleged atrocities of Mapillas in their rising in 1921 on Hindus. He too has seen that Mss. This king went with the Arab traders to meet the Prophet but died on the way and his grave is still shown in the town Zoffar in Yemen.

Conquest of Persia.

The conquest of Mesopotamia, then a part of Persia (a 'colony' in the modern sense) was peopled by a different race more akin to Arabs than to Persians and so the wrestling of this portion of the Persian Empire in the Khilaphate of Abu Bekr does not fall within the purview of this book. That theme will be taken up in our next book Islam in Africa and the Near East. The first battle for

real Persia was fought at Nahavand two years later. ' Nahavand is situated in Zagoras Hills, a few miles south east of Hamdan. The defeated Persians made their last stand at this great battlefield after their expulsion from Iraq headed by the fleeing of their monarch, Yezedgird III to Khorassan. About one and half lakhs of dispersed Persian Army gathered at this strategic centre to give final battle to the Arabs under Noman bin Maqran who swarmed it with thirty thousand men. A battle was fought which exceeded in its grimness to all the other battle fought by the Arabs in Syria, Iraq and Egypt. Noman fell wounded from his horse but remained in command and inspired his followers to march on without him. The flag was taken up by Huzaifa bin Yaman who routed the Persians by the fall of evening, pursued them to the gate of Hamdan which too was invested and captured. Thirty thousand Persians were left dead on the battle field. This battle which is known to the Arabs as Fathul Futuh or victory of victories, finally broke the power of the Persians who became fugitives and made no serious stand anywhere else. The Arabs fanned out on all sides of Persia. They captured Khorassan under Ahnaf bin Qais. Ardeshtar Sabur under Majashai bin Masood. Istakhar or Presipolis under Osman bin Abin Aas. Fasada and Abjard under Saroya bin Raham Kanani. Kerman under Suheil bin Adi, Seistan under Asim bin Utaba. This occurred in the year 18 of the Hegira. King Yezedgird made a last but futile stand at Merve in Khorassan with the help of Chinese and Turkish mercenaries but they deserted him at the first onslaught and the people of

Khorassan submitted to the Arabs. The unfortunate monarch soon after lost his life being robbed and murdered by a villageman in whose hamlet he took refuge. Thus within ten years of the insult offered by the haughtiness and pride of its monarch to the Prophet it brought his country and his dynasty to dust. Yezedgird was a young lad of about eighteen at the time of his murder and this sets at rest the legend that his daughter was captured and given in marriage to Prophet's grandson, Hussain, who himself was no more than ten years old then.

Conquest of Sindh.

In the reign of Kahlif Walid bin Abdul Malik, (73 A.H.) when Hajjaj was the governor of Iraq, a dispute arose between the Hindu ruler of Sindh and the governor over the capture of a ship which the king of Ceylone had sent to Bassrah with gifts to Khalifah and the Muslim orphans and widows that were stranded in Ceylone by way of repatriation. King Dahir the ruler of Sindh captured and despoiled the ship and when remonstrated he impudently replied that the Governor, if he has any power, should obtain the release of Muslims by force. This was too much for Hajjaj who sent his nephew and son-in-law Mohammad bin Qassim a youth of about eighteen summer with a small Arab force to invade Sindh and punish the Raja. With an army of six thousand Syrians Mohammad bin Qassim recaptured Mekran which was occupied by the Raja, pursued him upto his capital Dabil which he captured without much resistance. Leaving four thousand troops there he proceeded in pursuit,

took Sahwan and received the surrender of all feudatory chiefs of the river Sindh. King Dahir gave a battle, lost Brahmanabad, Bismud, Rur and Multan and the whole kingdom of Sindh was brought under Arab Rule by the year 89 A.H.

Mahmoud's expedition¹ in India

Like Sindh, the expedition of Mahmoud in India was not objective but merely accidental and subjective to the aggressive circumstances committed unprovokingly by the Raja of Punjab on Ghazni and Kabul in the time of his father Subuktagin. Among the Turkish *condottieres* who rose to high office in northern Persia was one Alaptagin, who falling out with Samanid Lord, established himself with a couple of thousand followers in the fortress of Ghazni in the heart of Afghan mountain (A.C. 962). Here is a kind of no man's land, secure from interference he made his little kingdom, and here after an interval his slave Subuktagin reigned instead (A.C. 976). The new ruler was not content with the original stronghold of his master. He gathered under his banner the neighbouring Afghan tribes added the whole provinces to his dominions—Laghman to the east in the Kabul valley, Seistan on the Persian side; and when called in to support the tottering Samanid prince of Bokara against the encroaching Turks, he turned the occasion to his own advantage and placed his son Mahmoud to command the rich province of Khorassan. Subuktagin was the first Muslim who attempted the in-

¹ Stanley Lane Poole. History of Medieval India.

vasion of India from the north-west. He went but a little way, it is true; his repeated defeat of Jaipal, the Brahman Raja of the Punjab, in the Kabul Valley, ended only in the temporary submission of Indian king and the payment of tribute; but it pointed the way into Hindustan.

His son and successor, Mahmoud made at least sixteen distinct campaigns in India between the years 1000 and 1026, in which he ranged across the plain from Indus to Ganges. His first attack was of course upon the frontier towns of the Khaibar Pass. His father's old enemy Jaipal endeavoured in vain to save Peshawar. Mahmoud threw out 15,000 of his best horsemen and utterly routed him, despite a large force and his 300 elephants. Jaipal and fifteen of his kindred were brought captive before the conqueror. Mahmoud was not cruel; he seldom indulged in wanton slaughter; and when a treaty of peace had been concluded, the Raja and his friends were set free. With proud despair of his race Jaipal refused to survive his disgrace. Preferring death to dishonour, he cast himself upon a funeral pyre.

There were many other kings besides Jaipal, however, and when after a successful raid upon Bhira, the other to Multan, whose Mohammedan (or rather Karamathian) ruler fled aghast—Mahmoud appeared again at the mouth of Khaibar in 1008, he found all the rajas of Punjab, backed by allies from other parts of Hindustan, "measureless multitude" mustered to resist him with Anandpal the son of Jaipal at their head. Mahmoud had never encountered such an army and he hastily entrenched his camp and waited forty days facing the constantly swelling

forces of the enemy. His first move, probably a mere reconnaissance, was disastrous. The thousand archers he sent forward were chased back into the camp followed by a charging mob of wild Ghakkars—a fierce Scythian tribes whose outbreaks troubled the peace of north-west frontier as late as 1857 and whose savage aspect, bare headed and bare foot, and barbarous habit of infanticide and polyandry, struck terror and disgust among the Muslims. These fanatic hillmen rushed the trenches and slashed right and left; man and horse fell before their onslaught, and it almost came to panic among the Turks. The Rajputs were already advancing under the cover of Ghakkars charge and Mahmoud was about to sound retreat, when one of those lucky accidents happened which have often turned the fortunes of the day. Anandpal's elephant took fright; the rumour ran that the raja was flying from the field; vague suspicions and distrusts spread about, and a general stampede ensued. Instead of retreating before a victorious army, in the turn of an instant Mahmoud found himself pursuing a panic stricken crowd. For two days the Muslims slew, captured and despoiled to their heart's content.

On the spur of snow mountain, surrounded by moat, stood the fortress of Kangra (Nagarkot), deemed impregnable by mortal power. Here the rajas and wealthy men of India were wont to store their treasures and here the triumphing Muslim came, hot with pursuit and victory. The panic that has dissolved the hosts of Punjab seized also upon the garrisons of the fortress, weakened as it must have been by the general levy to oppose the invaders. At Mahmoud's blockade the defenders fell to the earth "like

sparrows before the hawk". Immense stores of treasures and jewels, money and silver ingots were laden upon camels and a pavilion of silver of Byzantine lincen reared upon the pillars of silver and gold were among the prizes of this war. The booty was displayed in the Court of the palace of Ghazni where all the world flocked to gaze upon the incredible wealth of India.

Such rewards were the incentive enough to carry on the expeditions year after year. Mahmoud swept over the plains of Hindustan capturing cities and castles, throwing down temples and idols, and earning his title of Victor and idol breaker—Ghazi and Butshikan. Little is known of the political conditions of India at the time of their raids, but it is evident that after the great rout in the Punjab, there was no concerted resistance. The country was split up into numerous kingdoms, many of which were at feud with one another. There were the Brahman Kings of Gandhara on the Indus, the Tomars of Delhi and Kannauj, the Buddhist Palas of Magadh on the lower Ganges, the survivors of Guptas in Malwa, the Kalchuris on the Narbada, the Chandellas of Mahoba, and many more, might have stemmed the invasion, but whose jealousies brought their ruin. Internal divisions has proved the undoing of India again and again, and has sapped the powers of mere numbers which alone could enable the men of the warm plains to stand against the hardy mountain tribes and the relentless horsemen of central Asian steppes. It was no wonder that they carried all before them. Each campaign made them stronger and more terrible. They brought home not only treasures but recruits, and to the volunteers who

flocked to the spoil from the Oxus and Jaxartes to the unrivalled cavalry of their native steppes, they gradually added a powerful force of elephantry fit to confront the heavy arm that formed the first line in the Indian battle.

Mahmoud's success, however, was not without hard fighting and sore privations. Man was more easily overcome than nature, and the endurance of hardy and vigorous northmen was often tested almost to the breaking point. When they set out in 1013 to invade the capital of India, whose king has failed to pay his annual tribute of fifty laden elephants and two thousand slaves, they were checked at the frontier by deep snows, the mountain and valleys appeared almost level under treacherous white mantle, and the army was forced to protect itself in winter quarters. Moving onwards in the warmer weather, they wandered for months along broad deep rivers and dense jungles where even wild beast might get lost. At last they found the king of India—probably one of the Sahi dynasty of Gandhara—posted in a narrow pass with his vassals at his back. The veterans from the Oxus and those devilish Afghan spearmen bored into the gorge like a gimlet into a wood, but it took several days of hard fighting before the place was carried. Then followed a weary march across the stern desert of Rajputana to Thanesar, a day's journey from Delhi, and here again a local raja had to be dislodged from a steep pass where he waited with splendid troops of Ceylone elephants behind a rapid river. But Mahmoud was no novice in tactics. He forded the river and crowned the heights on either side, and while two detachments fell upon the enemy's flanks, the Sultan's main battle

flung itself into the ravine and the position was stormed. The river ran blood, and the pass was a shamble but the Hindus fled, and their famous elephants were captured and their town gave up the spoil.

Mahmoud's victories were known all over the East and twenty thousand warriors came to him from the country beyond the Oxus, praying to be granted the privilege of fighting for their faith and so perchance attaining the crown of martyrdom. With a large army stiffened by these zealots, the Sultan fought his greatest campaign in 1018 and pushed further east than ever before. He marched upon Kannauj, the capital of Tomarra rajas, then reputed the chief city of Hindustan. The march was an orgy and ovation. Everywhere envoys waited on the conqueror bearing proffers of homage and welcome. The chief who held the passes of Kashmir, which immemorial jealousy had guarded with infinite precaution from foreign footsteps, tendered his fealty and his service as a guide. One after the other the rivers of India were crossed, Indus, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Sutlej with scarcely a check. Forts and cities surrendered as the great Sultan passed by; abject chiefs placed their followers at his disposal; through the thick jungle he penetrated, "like a comb through a poll of hair" fighting when necessary, but more often triumphing by mere prestige. Early in December he reached the Jumna and stood before the walls of Muttra; an ancient home of Hindu worship, filled with temples not built by man but by Jinns". Colossal golden idols flashed with jewels and silver gods of loathly aspects stood so huge that they had to be broken up before they could be weighed.

Passing eastwards, Kannauj was reached before Christmas. The raja had fled at the mere bruit of Sultan's coming, and the seven forts of the great city on Ganges fell in one day. Of all the gorgeous shrines not a temple was spared. Nor were the neighbouring princes more fortunate. Deep jungles and broad moats could not protect Chandel Bhor of Asi, and even Chand Rai, the great Lord of Sharwa when he heard the ominous tramp of Turkish horsemen, gathered up his treasures and made for the hills; for it was told him that Sultan Mahmoud was not like the rulers of Hind, and those who follow him were not blackmen". Flight did not save Chand Rai; the enemy tracked him through the forest, and coming up with him at midnight attacked in the dark, routed, plundered, and revelled for three days and carried with him such booty and mobs of prisoners that the slave market of Persia were glutted and a servant could be bought for a couple of a shilling.

Two years later, the Sultan met the evasive raja of Kannauj. It was the Rahib—probably the Ram Ganga, a deep river with black bituminous bottom, fit to scald a scabby sheep. Fording was out of the question, and Mahmoud ordered his advance guard to swim the river on air skins, plying their bows as they swam. The men plunged in, the Hindus scurried away, and once more victory was declared for men of the north. In the next two campaigns, Lahore, Gwalior and Kalinjar surrendered to a conqueror who would take no denial, and in the winter of 1025-26 the Sultan made his final march into Gujrat, crowned with capture of Somnath, its costly temples and

its wondrous gods. There a hundred thousands pilgrims were wont to assemble, a thousand Brahmins served the temple and guarded its treasures, and hundreds of dancers and singers played before its gates. Within stood the famous Linga, a rude pillar stone adorned with gems and lighted by jewelled candelabra which were reflected in the rich hangings, embroidered with precious stones like stars, that decked the shrine.

So long as this worshipful emblem stood inviolate, Mahmoud could not rest from its idol breaking, nor his treasury boast the finest gems in India. Hence his arduous march across the desert from Multan to Anhal and on the coast, fighting as he went, until he saw at last the famous fortress washed by the waves of the Arabian Sea. Its ramparts were swarmed with incredulous Brahmins, mocking the vain arrogance of foreign infidels whom the god of Somnath would assuredly consume. The foreigner nothing daunted, scaled the walls; the god remained dumb to the urgent appeal of his servants; fifty thousand Hindus suffered for their faith and the sacred shrine was sacked to the joy of the true believers. The great stone was cast down and its fragments carried off to grace the conquerors palace. The temple gates were set up at Ghazni, and a million pounds worth of treasure rewarded the iconoclast.

The sack of Somnath has made Mahmoud of Ghazni a champion of the faith in the eyes of every Muslim for nearly nine centuries, and the feat signal enough for itself, has been embellished with fantastic legends. The difficulties of the outward march were renewed on the return; the army led astray by treacherous guides

and almost perished in the waterless desert, from which it escaped only to fall into the hands of predatory Jats of the salt range, who harrassed the exhausted troops as they toiled homewards laden with spoils. It was to punish their temerity that before the year was over Mahmoud led his army for the last time into India. He is said to have built a fleet at Multan, armed with spikes and rams and placed twenty archers with naphtha bombs on each of his fourteen hundred boats, which engaged the vessels of the Jats, four thousand in number, and by arms and naphtha sank or burnt their crafts. Whatever really happened, we may be sure that there were never five thousand boats on the upper Indus, and that mountain tribes do not usually fight naval battles. Having chastised the Jats, whether by land or water matters little, Mahmoud retired to Ghazni, where he died four years later (30th April 1030).

Conquest of Northern India.

Till the death of Mahmoud except Sindh and Punjab upto river Sutlej, Hindustan was not permanently brought under the dominance of Islam. These two parts were held precariously under the Ghazanavid dynasty till 1148, when that dynasty was overthrown by the Ghorids, and Ghazni was destroyed by Alauddin Hussain surnamed Jahansoz (world burner) and India was now to witness something very like the repetition of swift irresistible raid of Mahmoud of Ghazni. Alauddin the world burner was content to rule his clan at Firoz Koh, and that of his son two years later, his nephew Ghiasuddin son of Sam be-

came chief of Ghor, and with his succession of the Afghan Highlanders entered upon a new phase of activity. Ghiasuddin recovered Ghazni from the mob of Ghuzz in 1173-4, and established his brother Muizuddin commonly known as Muhammad Ghorī on the ruined throne of Mahmūd. Two brothers exercised a joint sovereignty in his forefather's castle of the "Hill of Victory", Muhammad Ghorī led a series of campaign in India which recalled the glorious days of idol breaker two centuries before. His first objective was to gather the Muhammadan provinces of India under his control. He began with the old Arab Colony of Indus, took Multan in 1175 from the heretical Karamathians, whom Mahmūd had but temporarily dislodged, marched thence to Anhalwara in 1178 and by 1182 he had subdued the whole Sindh down to Daibal and the Sea coast. Meanwhile his armies had not left the exiled king of Ghazni undisturbed. Peshawar was taken in 1179, and Khusro Malik, the last of the Ghaznavids, a feeble gentle soul, utterly unequal to the task of meeting the anarchy which was ruining the remnant of his father's kingdom, hastened to give the son as hostage and to offer deprecatory presents to the invader. The final catastrophe was thus delayed for a few years. In 1184, however, Muhammad Ghorī ravaged the territory of Lahore and fortified Sialkot. This was coming to close quarters, and the king in desperation called in the help of the Ghakkars and laid siege to the fortress. The Ghorian out manoeuvred him by a trick, and getting between Khusro and his capital compelled him to surrender (1185-1186). The prisoner and his son were taken to Firoz Koh and confined

in a fort, where after five years the last of the Ghaznavids were put to death.

Muhammad Ghori had thus rid himself of all Muslim rivals in India: he could now turn to the Hindus. From the account of Persian historians it is clear that the process of assimilation which has been going on between the Turkish conquerors and the subject Hindus was now checked. The policy of employing native Indian regiments was abandoned and the new invaders Afghan Muslims, numerous supported by Turks, were full of religious zeal and eager to send the "grovelling crow faced Hindus to the fire of hell." Muhammad's first step was to seize and garrison Sirhind. This brought upon him the whole force of Rajputs, led by Pirthvi Raj, the chief of Chohan dynasty that has succeeded the Tomars in Delhi and Ajmer. This was a different kind of enemy from those the Afghans had been accustomed to meet. They were well acquainted with the modes of fighting of the Seljuks and other Turks of the Oxus land, but in the Rajputs they encountered a soldiery second to none in the world, a race of born fighters who fought to the death, many of whose principalities never submitted in more than name to Muslim rule. They formed the military caste of ancient Hindu system, and preserved their old feudal system.

Muhammad Ghori's first encounter with the Rajputs was like to have been the last. The two armies met in 1191 at Narain, ten miles north of Karnal, on another part of the great plain which includes the historic field of Panipat, and on which the fate of India was decided again

and again. All the dash of the Muslim cavalry was powerless against the Hindus. The Afghan charges were met by skilful fighting movements and the Sultan found himself cut off from his shattered wings and hemmed in by Rajputs squadrons. He tried to save the day by personal gallantry, charged up to the standard of Raja's brother, the viceroy of Delhi and with his spear drove his teeth down his throat; but his rash exposure nearly cost him his life, and he was only saved by devotion of a soldier who mounted behind him and carried him off the field. The Sultan's retirement led to the panic. The Muslims were soon in full retreat, pursued for forty miles by the enemy, and Muhammad did not even stop at Lahore, but hastened to cross the Indus into his own country.

The Sultan could not forget the disaster. At Ghazni he confessed, he never slumbered in ease nor walked but in sorrow and anxiety". The next year saw him again in India, at the head of 120,000 men, Afghans, Turks and Persians. Pirthwi Raj had taken Sirhind, after a year's siege and awaited his enemy on the same field of Narain. The Sultan had profited by his former lesson. His cavalry in four divisions of ten thousand each harrassed the Rajpoots on all sides, and when he found their famous soldiery still unbroken, he lured them to disorder by a feigned retreat. Then, taking them on a disadvantage, he charged at the head of twelve thousand picked horsemen in steel armour, and this prodigious army once shakened like a great building tottered to its fall and was lost in its own ruin. Many of the Rajpoot chiefs were killed in the battle. Prithwi Raj himself mounted on a horse and fled

and was captured near Sarswati and "sent to hell".

The result of the victory was the annexation of Ajmer, Hansi and Sarswati (1192). Ajmer was left in the charge of a son of the late Raja, as a vassal of the Sultan, and Kutubuddin Aibek, a slave of Mohammad Ghori, was appointed viceroy of India, whereafter his master's death he founded the kingdom of Delhi. Delhi and Koil indeed fell before the attack of Kutubuddin the same year, but beyond them lay the dominions of powerful Rathors, who had become the rajas of Kannauj on the downfall of Tomarras. Muhammad returning from Ghazni, himself led the campaign against them in the following year, and after crushing defeat on the Jumna between Chandwar and Etawah, the Rathors fled south to found a new principal of Marwar, and Kannauj and Banaras became part of the kingdom of Ghor. The Muslims were now in Bihar and it was not long before they found their way into Bengal. Whilst Kutubuddin was reducing the cities further west, another general Mohammad Bakhtiar, pushed his way to Oudh and on to Lakhnauti, then the capital of Bengal, and thus brought the extreme east of Hindustan under Muslim rule.

Meanwhile the Sultan or his viceroy had conquered, if they had not subdued, the greater part of northern India, Gwalior, Budaun, Kalpi, Kalinjar, Anhalwara, had fallen and if Muhammad had been content with an Indian Empire, he might have enjoyed his wish. But the kings of Ghazni were ever looking backward towards the west, where Mahmud had held so vast a sway. Traditions led them to long for the orchards and pastures of the Oxus

and the rich cities and luxuries of Persia. The wealth of India could not satisfy these hungry hillmen. Muhammad Ghor must need invade Khwarizm, the modern Khiva, where his momentary success was followed by such disastrous defeat that he burnt his baggage, purchased his bare life and fled (1203). Such an overthrow means an anarchy in an oriental state. Ghazni shut its gate in its Sultan's face, Multan proclaimed a new king, the Ghakkars seized Lahore and laid waste the Punjab; the wide dominion of the house of Ghor broke asunder. The recovery of his shattered Kingdom was Muhammad's greatest feat. Qutubuddin remained true to him and so did several cities held by Sultan's kindred. Muhammad swept down upon Multan and regained it; Ghazni repented, the Ghakkars were subdued and even nominally converted. But conversion did not wipe out the blood feud, and when Sultan set out once more to gather forces for another effort to realise his useless dream of western Empire, he was murdered in his tent beside the Indus by a band of Ghakkars who had the deaths of their kinsfolk to avenge.

Conquest of South India.

Upto the time of Alauddin Khilji (1296) the utmost stretch of the kingdom of Delhi had been across the plains from Indus to Brahmaputra, and from Himalya to Vindya mountains. No Mohamedan ruler had ventured to cross the Narbada river and the Satpura Hills into the great plateau of Southern India—Maharashtra the land of Marhattas, the seat of ancient monarchies and strange tongues. In 1294, however, after successfully dealing with the insurrec-

tions in Bundelkhand and Malwa, Prince Alauddin set out with eight thousand men from the government of Karra on the Ganges, bent upon more ambitious schemes. Forcing his way through the forest of Vindhya range, by difficult passes, and ill provided with men and supplies, the prince carried his small force 700 miles to Deogiri, the capital of the Mahratta raja, which he took unresisted. He had given out that he had quarrelled with his uncle the Sultan of Delhi and was seeking service with one of the southern rajas. The ruler of Deogiri was taken by surprise and fled to one of the hill forts. Here, by another lie, Alauddin procured his submission and the cession of Ellichoppur, and thus the Muslims made their first steps into Deccan. It was from the boundless treasures won in this campaign that the conqueror procured the golden stars which lighted his road to Delhi. The way to the south thus opened, was never again shut, though in the earliest year of his reign Alauddin had other works to do. After suppressing the Mongols who had erupted his western frontier, and after capturing the stronghold of Chittor, the siege of which in the rainy season had almost prostrated his troops, a second army was sent to Deccan to conquer Warangal in the same unfavourable season had suffered even more severely, and returned diminished and discouraged.

Alauddin resumed the plans of conquests after pacifying the Mongol menace from north-west and fiscal reformation that needed his immediate attention. He had reduced two great Hindu fortresses, Ranthambor and Chittor, though at an enormous cost. He now turned

again towards Deccan. An army under Malik Kafur "Hazardinari" a handsome castrato who had fascinated the Sultan, was sent in 1308 to recover Devgiri, where Yadav ruler had reasserted his independence and neglected to pay the tribute he promised at the time of Alauddin's conquests fifteen years before. The campaign was successful.

Kafur assisted by the muster Master Khwaja Hajji laid the country waste, took much booty, and brought the rebel Hindu and his sons to Delhi. The Sultan treated the captive raja with all honour, gave him a royal canopy and the style of king of kings and presenting him with a laks of Tankass, sent him back to govern Deogiri as his vassal.

In the following year Kafur and Hajji were despatched on a more ambitious errand; they were ordered to take the fort of Warangal in Telingana, towards the eastern ghats, the capital of Kekatiya rajas. On the march through his territories, Ram Dev displayed the dutiful behaviour of a rayyat, assisted the army in every way, and contributed a contingent of Marhattas thus justifying the Sultan's confidence. The mud fort of Warangal was taken by assault, the stone fort was invested and the raja surrendered his treasures and agreed to pay the tribute. Kafur returned to Delhi with the booty of a hundred elephants, 7000 horses, and quantities of jewels. In 1310 the same generals pushed their way to Malabar coast, took the old capital of Dwara Samudra, almost as far south as Mysore, destroyed the great temple of the golden idols in Malabar, bringing home in the early part of 1311 no less than 612 elephants, 20,000 horses, coffers of precious stones

and pearls and 96,000 maunds of gold, which taking the man at not more than quarter hundred-weight, amount to 1200 tons of gold. Considering the vast wealth of Hindu shrine, which had never been before despoiled in Deccan, the sum though doubtless exaggerated is not absolutely incredible. The treasures was brought to the palaces of Siri, and the Sultan presented the Officers of the fortunate campaign with gifts of gold by the hundredweight. The rajas of Devgiri and Warangal paid their tribute, and northern part of deccan acknowledged the suzerainty of Delhi.

CHAPTER II

PEACEFUL PENETRATION*

In Persia and Afghanistan.

By the middle of the seventh century, the great dynasty of Sassanids had fallen, and vast empire of Persia that for four centuries had withstood the might of Rome and Byzantium, now became the heritage of the Muslims. When the armies of the state had been routed, the mass of the people offered little resistance the reign of the last representatives of the Sassanid dynasty had been marked by terrible anarchy, and the sympathies of the people had been further alienated from their rulers on account of the support they gave to the persecuting policy of the state religion of Zoroastrianism. The Zoroastrian priests had acquired an enormous influence in the state, they were well-nigh all powerful in the council of Kings and arrogated to themselves a very large share in the Civil administration. They took advantage of their position to persecute all those religious bodies—and they were many—that dissented from them. Besides the numerous adherents of older forms of Persian religions, there were Christians, Jews, Sabaeans, and numerous sects in which the speculations of Gnostics, Manicheans, and Buddhists found expression. In all of

* Chapters VII and IX of Arnold's *Preaching of Islam* (Second Edition)

these, persecution had stirred up feelings of bitter hatred against the established religion and the dynasty that supported its oppression and so caused the Arab conquerors to appear in the light of deliverance. The followers of all these varied forms of faith could breathe under a rule that granted them religious freedom and exempted them from military service on payment of light tribute. For the Muslim law granted toleration and the right of paying Jiziyah not only to Christian and Jews, but to Zoroastrians and Sabeans, to worshippers of idols, of fire and of stone. It was said that Prophet himself had distinctly given directions that "the Zoroastrians were to be treated exactly like the people of the Book" i. e. the Jews and Christians, and that Jiziyah might also be taken from them in return for protection. A tradition that probably arose in the second century of the Hejirah when apostolic sanction was sought for the toleration that had been extended to all the followers of various faith that Arabs have found in the countries they had conquered whether such non-muslims came under the category of Ahlul Kitab or not.

To the distracted Christian Church in Persia the change of Government brought relief from the oppression of Sassanid kings, who had fomented the bitter struggles of Jacobites and Nestorians and added to the confusion of warring sects. The same period witnessed the conversion of the large number of the Christians of Khurassan, as we learn from a letter of a contemporary ecclesiastic, the Nestorian patriarch, Ishoyabh III addressed to Simeon, the Metropolitan of Reve—Ardeshir and Primate of Persia.

We possess so very few Christian documents of the first century of Hegirah, and this letter bears such striking testimony of the peaceful character of the spread of new faith, and has been moreover so little noticed by modern historians that it may well be quoted here at length.

“Where are thy sons, O father bereft of thy sons? where is that great people of Merve, who though they beheld neither sword, nor fire or tortures, captivated only a love for a moiety of their goods, have turned aside, like fools from the true path and rushed headlong into the pit of faithlessness—into everlasting destruction, and have utterly been brought to naught, while two priests only (priest at least in name) have, like brands snatched from burning, escaped the devouring flame of infidelity. Alas, Alas! Out of so many thousands who bore the name of Christians, not even one single victim was consecrated unto God by shedding of his blood for true faith. Where too, are the sanctuaries of Kirman and all Persia? it is not the coming of the Satan or the mandates of the kings of the earth or the orders of the governors of the provinces that have laid the wastes and in ruins—but the feeble breath of one contemptible who was not deemed of the worthy of the honour of demons who sent him on his errand, nor was endowed by Satan the seducer with the power of diabolical deceit, that he might display it in your land; but merely by the nod of his command, he has thrown down all the churches of your Persia.” and the Arabs to whom God has this time given the empire of the world, behold they are among you, as you know all: and yet they attack not the Christian faith, but on the

contrary, they favour our religion, do honour to our priests and the Saint of the Lord and confer benefit on churches and monasteries. Why then have your people of Merve abandoned their faith for the sake of these Arabs? and that too, when the Arabs as the people of Merve themselves declare, have not forced them to leave their own religion but suffered them to keep it safe and undefiled if they pay up a moiety of their goods. But forsaking faith which brings eternal salvation, they clung to a moiety of goods of this fleeting world: that faith which whole nations have purchased and even to this day they purchase by the shedding of their blood and gain thereby the inheritance of eternal life, your people of Merve were willing to barter for a moiety of their goods—and even less”. The reign of Calipha Umar II (717-720) particularly was marked with very extensive conversion: he organised a zealous missionary movement and offered every kind of inducement to the conquered people to accept Islam, even making them grants of money; on one occasion he is said to have given a Christian military officer the sum of one thousand Dinars to induce him to accept Islam. He instructed the governor of the provinces to invite the Dhimmis to the Muslim faith, and Al Jarrah bin Abdullah, governor of Khorassan is said to have converted about four thousand persons. He is even said to have written a letter to the Byzantine Emperor Leo III urging him to the acceptance of the faith of Islam. He abrogated the decree passed in A.C. 700 for the purpose of arresting the impoverishment of the treasury, according to which the convert to Islam was not released from the capitation tax but was compell-

ed to continue to pay it as before; even though the Dhimmi apostatised the very day before his yearly payment of Jiziyah was due or while his contribution was actually being weighed in the scales, it was to be remitted to the new convert. He no longer exacted the Kharaj from the Mohammadan owners of the landed property and imposed upon them the far lighter burden of tithe. These measures though financially most ruinous, were eminently successful in the eye of pious minded Caliph desired they should be, and enormous number hastened to enrol themselves among the Muslims. ✓

Khusru II, exasperated at the defeat he had suffered at the hands of Christian emperor Heraclius, ordered a fresh persecution of the Christians within his dominions, a persecution from which all the various Christian sects alike had to suffer. These terrible conditions may have well prepared men's minds for the revulsion of the feeling that facilitates a change of faith. "Side by side with the political chaos in the state was the moral confusion that filled the minds of the Christians distracted by such an accumulation of disasters and by moral agony wrought by the furious conflict of so many warring doctrines among them, they tended towards that peculiar frame of mind in which a new doctrine finds it easy to take root, making a clean of such a bewildering babel and striving to reconstruct faith and society on a new basis. In other words the people of Persia, and especially the Semitic races, were just in the very mental condition calculated to make them welcome the Islamic revolution and to urge them on the enthusiastically embrace the new and rugged creed, which

with its complete and virile simplicity swept away at one stroke all those dark mists, opened the soul to new, alluring and tangible hopes, and promised immediate release from a miserable state of servitude.

But the Muslim creed was most eagerly welcomed by the townsfolk, the industrial classes and the artisans, whose occupation made them impure, according to Zoroastrian creed, because in the pursuance of their trade or occupations they defiled fire, earth and water, and who thus, outcasts in the eyes of law and treated with scant considerations in consequence, embraced with eagerness a creed that made them at once a freeman, and in a brotherhood of faith. Nor were the conversions from the Zoroastrianism itself less striking; the fabric of the national church had fallen with a crash in the general ruin of the dynasty that had before upheld it; having no other centre round which to rally, the followers of this creed would find the transition to Islam a simple and easy one, owing to numerous point of similarity in the old creed and the new. For the Persians could find in the Quran many of the fundamental doctrines of his old faith, though in a rather different form: he would meet again Ahurmazda and Ahiraman under the name of Allah and Iblis, the creation of the world in six periods; the angels and the demons, the story of primitive innocence of man, the resurrection of the body, and the doctrine of heaven and hell. Even in details of daily worship there were similarities to be found and the followers of Zoroaster when they adopted Islam were enjoined by their new faith to pray five times a day just as they had been by the Avesta. Those tribes in the

north of Persia that had stubbornly resisted the ecclesiastical organisation of the state religion, on the ground that each man was a priest in his own household and had no need of any other and believe in supreme being and the immortality of soul, taught that a man should love his neighbour, conquer his passions, and strife patiently after a better life—such men could have needed little persuasion to induce them to accept the faith of the prophet. Islam had still more points of contact with some of the heretical sects of Persia, that had come under the influence of Christianity.

In addition to the causes above enumerated of the rapid spread of Islam in Persia, it should be remembered that the political and national sympathies of the conquered race were also enlisted on behalf of new religion through the marriage of Hussayn the son of Ali with Shahrbanu the daughters of Yezedgird, the last monarch of the Sassanid dynasty. In the descendents of Shahrbanu and Husayn the Persians saw the heirs of their ancient kings and the inheritors of their national traditions, and in this patriotic feeling may be found the explanation of the intense devotion of the Persians to the Alid faction and the first beginning of Shiism as a separate sect.

That this widespread conversion was not due to force or violence is evidenced by the toleration extended to those who still clung to their ancient faith. Even to the present day there are some small communities of fire worshippers to be found in certain districts of Persia, and though these have in later years often had to suffer persecution their ancestors in the early centuries of the Hejira

enjoyed a remarkable degree of tolerations, their fire temples were respected, and we even read of a Mohamedan general (in the reign of All Mustaassim, A.C. 833-842), who ordered an Imam and a Muedddhin to be flogged because they had destroyed a fire temple in Sughd and built a mosque in its place. In the tenth century, three centuries after the conquest of the country, fire temples were to be found in Iraq Fars, Kirman, Sijistan, Khurasan, Jibal, Adharbaijan and Arran i. e. in almost every province of Persia. In Fars itself there were hardly any cities or districts in which fire temples and Magians were not to be found. Al Shahrastani also (writing as late as twelfth century), makes mention of a fire temple at Isfinia, in the neighbourhood of Baghdad itself.

In the faces, it is surely impossible to attribute the decay of Zoroastrianism entirely to violent conversion made by the Muslim conquerors. The number of Persians who embraced Islam in the early days of Arab rule were probably very large for the various reasons given above, but the late survival of their ancient faith and the occasional record of conversion in the course of successive centuries, render it probable that the acceptance of Islam was both peaceful and voluntary. About the close of eighth century, Saman, a noble of Balkh, having received assistance from Asad b. Abd-Allah, the governor of Khurassan renounced Zoroastrianism, embraced Islam, and named his son Asad after his protector: it is from this convert that the dynasty of Samanids (A.C. 874-999) took its name. About the beginning of the ninth century, Karim b. Shariyar was the first king of Qabusiyah dynasty who became a Musl-

man, and in 873 a large number of the worshippers were converted to Islam in Daylam through the influence of Nasirul Haqq Abu Muhammad. In the following century about A.C. 912 Hasan b. Ali, of the Alid dynasty on the southern shore of Caspian Sea, who is said to have been a man of learning and intelligence and well acquainted with the religious opinion of different sects, invited the inhabitants of Tabiristan and Daylam who were partly idolators and partly Magians to accept Islam; many of them responded to his call while others persisted in their former state of unbelief. In the year A.H. 394 (A.C. 1003-100), a famous poet Abul Hassan Mihyar, a native of Daylam, who had been a fire worshipper, was converted to Islam by a still more famous poet, the Sharifual Radha, who was a master in the poetic art.

It was probably about the same period that the grandfather of the great geographer, Ibn Khurdadbih, was converted through the influence of one of the Bermcidies, whose ancestor had been likewise a Magian, and high priest of the great Fire Temple of Nawbahar at Balakh.

Scanty as these notices of conversion are, they appear to have been voluntary, and the Zoroastrians would seem to have enjoyed on the whole toleration for the exercise of their religion upto the close of the Abbaside period. With the Mongol invasion a darker period in their history begins, and the miseries which the Persian Muslims themselves suffered seems to have generated in them a spirit of fanatical intolerance which exposed the Zoroastrians at times to cruel sufferings.

In the middle of the eighth century, Persia gave birth

to a movement that is of interest in the missionary history of Islam *viz.*, the sect of Ismailians. This is not a place to enter into a history of this sect or of the theological position taken up by its followers, or of the social and political factors that lent it strength, but it demands here on account of the marvellous missionary organisation whereby it was propagated. The founder of this organisation—which rivals that of the Jesuits for the keen insight into human nature it displays and the consummate skill with which the doctrines of the sect was accommodated to varying capacities and prejudices—was a certain Abdullah bin Maymun who early in the ninth century infused new life into the Ismailians. He sent out his missionaries in all directions under various guises, very frequently as Sufis but also as merchants and traders and the like; they were instructed to be all things to all men and to win over the different classes of men to all allegiance to the grandmaster of their sect, by speaking to each man, as it were, in his own language, and accommodating their teaching to the varying capacities and opinions of their hearers. They captivated the ignorant multitude by the performance of the marvels that were taken for miracles and by mysterious utterances that excited their curiosity. To the devout they appeared as models of virtue and religious zeal; to the mystics they revealed the hidden meaning of the popular teaching and initiated them into various grades of occultism according to their capacity. Taking advantage of the eager looking forward to a deliverer that was common to so many faiths of the time, they declared to the Mussulmans the approaching

advent of the Imam Mahdi, to the Jews that of the Messiah, and to the Christians that of the Comforter, but taught that the aspirations of each could alone be realised in the coming of Ali as the great deliverer. With the Shiah, the Ismailian missionary was to put himself forward as the zealous partisan of all the Shia doctrine, was to dwell upon the cruelty and injustice of the Sunnis towards Ali and his sons, and liberally abuse the Sunni Khalifahs; having thus prepared the way, he was to insinuate as the necessary completion of the Shiah system of faith, the more esoteric doctrines of the Ismailian sect. In dealing with the Jews, he was to speak with contempt of both Christians and Muslims and agree with his intended convert in still looking forward to a promised Messiah, but gradually lead him to believe that this promised Messiah could be none other than Ali, the great Messiah of the Ismailian system. If he sought to win over the Christian, he was to dwell upon the obstinacy of the Jews and the ignorance of the Muslims, to profess reverence for the chief articles of the Christian creed, but gently hint that they were symbolic and pointed to deeper meaning, to which the Ismailian system could alone supply the key; he was also cautiously to suggest that the Christians had somewhat misinterpreted the doctrine of the Paraclete and that it was in Ali that the true Paraclete was to be found. Similarly the Ismailian missionaries who made their way into India endeavoured to make their doctrines acceptable to the Hindus, by representing Ali as the promised tenth Avatar of Vishnu, who was to come from the West *i. e.* (they averred) from Alamut. They also wrote a Mahdi Puran and composed

hymns in imitations of those of the Vamacarins or left hand Saktas whose mysticism already predisposed their minds to the acceptance of the esoteric doctrines of the Ismailians.

By such means as these an enormous number of persons of different faiths were united together to push forward an enterprise, the real aim of which was known to very few. The aspirations of Abdullah b Maymoun seem to have been entirely political, but as the means he adopted were religious and the one common bond—if any—that bound his followers together was the devout expectations of the coming of Imam Mahdi, the missionary activity connected with history of this sect deserves the brief mention in these pages.

When at the close of the twelfth century, the Saljuq Empire had lost all power except in Asia Minor, and when Muhammad Ghori has extended his empire from Khurasan eastward across the north of India, there was a great revival of Muslim faith among the Afghans, and their country was overrun by Arab preachers and converts from India, who set about the task of proselytising with remarkable energy and boldness. The traditions of the Afghans represent Islam as having been peaceably introduced among them. They say that in the first century of the Hijrah they occupied the Ghor country to the east of Herat, and Khalid bin Walid came to them there with the tidings of Islam, and invited them to join the standard of the Prophet; he returned to Mohammad accompanied by a deputation of six or seven representatives of men of the Afghan people, with their followers, and these when they

went back to their own country, set to work to convert their fellow tribesmen. This tradition is however, devoid of any historical foundations, and the earliest authentic record of conversion to Islam from among the Afghans seems to be that of a king of Kabul in the reign of Al Mamun. His successor however seems to have relapsed to Buddhism for when Yaqub bin Layth extended his conquests as far as Kabul in 871, he found the ruler of the land to be an idolator, and Kabul now became really Muhammedan for the first time, the Afghans probably being quite willing to take service in the army of so redoubtable as Yaqub bin Layth, but it was not until after the conquest of Subuktagin and Mahmoud of Ghazni that Islam became established throughout Afghanistan.

In Northern India.

The Khiljis (1290-1320), the Tughlaqs (1320-1412) and the Lodis (1451-1526) were generally too busily engaged to pay much regard to the interests of religion, or else thought more of the exaction of tribute than of the work of conversion. Not that they were entirely lacking in religious zeal *e. g.*, the Ghakkars, a barbarous people in the mountainous district of the North gave the early invaders much trouble, are said to have been converted through the influence of Muhammad Ghorî at the end of twelfth century. Their chieftain had been taken prisoner by the Muhammadan monarch, who induced him to become a Mussulman, and then confirming him in his title of chief of his tribe, sent him back to convert his followers, many of whom having little religion of their own were

easily prevailed upon to embrace Islam. According to Ibne Batutah, the Khaljis offered some encouragement to conversion by making it a custom to have the new convert presented to the Sultan, who clad him in a robe of honour and gave him a collar and bracelets of gold, and of a value proportionate to his rank. But the monarchs of the earlier Muhammadan dynasties as a rule evinced very little proselytising zeal, and it would be hard to find a parallel in their history to the following passage from the autobiography of Firuz Shah Tughlaq (1351-1388): "I encouraged my infidel subjects to embrace the religion of the Prophet, and I proclaimed that every one who repeated the creed and became a Mussulman should be exempt from the Jizyah or poll tax. Information of this came to the ears of the people at large and great numbers of the Hindus presented themselves forward day by day from every quarter, and adopting the faith, were exonerated from the Jizyah and were favoured with presents and honours.

As the Muhammadan power became consolidated, and particularly under the Mogul dynasty, the religious influences of Islam became more permanent and persistent. These influences are certainly apparent in the Hindu theistic movement that arose in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and Bishop Lefroy has conjectured that the positive character of Muslim teaching attracted minds that were dissatisfied with the vagueness and subjectivity of Pantheistic system of thought. "When the Mohammadanism with its strong grasp of reality of the Divine existence, and, as following from this of the absolutely fixed and

objective character of truth, came into conflict with the haziness of Pantheistic thought and the objectivity of its belief, it necessarily followed, not only that it triumphed in the life and thought of Upper India, quickening into a fresh and more vigorous life many minds which never accepted for themselves its intellectual sway."

A powerful incentive to conversion was offered, when adherence to an idolatrous system stood in the way of advancement at the Muhammadan Courts; and though a spirit of tolerance, which reached its culmination under the eclectic Akbar, was very often shown towards Hinduism, and respected even, for the most part, the state endowment of that religion; and though the dread of unpopularity and the desire of conciliation dictated the policy of non-interference and deprecated such deed of violence and such outbursts of fanaticism as had characterised the earlier period of invasion and triumph, still such motives of self interest gained many converts from Hinduism to Muhammadan faith. Many Rajputs became converts in this way, and their descendents are to this day to be found among landed aristocracy. The most important perhaps among these is the Mussulman branch of the great Bachgoti clan, the head of which is the premier Muhammadan noble of Oudh. According to one tradition their ancestor Tilok Chand was taken prisoner by the emperor Babur, and to regain his liberty adopted the faith of Islam; but another legend places his conversion in the reign of Humayun. This prince having heard the remarkable beauty of Tilok Chand's wife, had her carried off while she was at a fair. No sooner, however, was she brought to him than his

conscience smote him and he sent her to her husband. Tilok Chand had despaired of ever seeing her again, and in gratitude he and his wife embraced the faith "which taught such generous purity". These converted Rajputs are very zealous in the practice of their religion, yet often betray their Hindu origin in a very striking manner. In the district of Bulandshahr, for example, a large Mussulman family, which is known as the Lalkhani Pathans, still (with some exceptions) retain its old Hindu title and family customs of marriage, while Hindu branches of the same clan still exist side by side with it. In the Mirzapore districts the Gharwar Rajputs, who are now Muslim, still retain in all domestic matters Hindu Laws and customs and prefer a Hindu honorific title to their Muhammadan names. Official pressure is said never to have been more persistently brought to bear upon the Hindus than in the reign of Aurangzeb. In the eastern district of the Punjab, there are many cases in which the ancestor of the Mussulman branch of the village community is said to have changed his religion in the reign of this zealot, "in order to save the land of the village". In Gurgaon near Delhi, there is a Hindu family of Bunyas who still bear the title of Shaykh (which is commonly adopted by converted Hindoos), because one of the members of the family, whose line is now extinct, became a convert in order to save the family property from confiscation. Many Rajput landowners, in the Cawnpore district, were compelled to embrace Islam for the same reason. In other cases the ancestor is said to have been carried as a prisoner or hostage to Delhi, and there forcibly circumcised and

converted. It should be noted that the only authority for these forced conversions is family or local tradition, and no mention of such (as far as I have been able to discover) is made in the historical accounts of Aurangzeb's reign. It is established without doubt that forced conversions have been made by Muhammadan rulers, and it seems probable that Aurangzeb's well known zeal on behalf of his faith has caused many families of northern India (the history of whose conversion has been forgotten) to attribute their change of faith to this, the most easily assignable cause.

How little was effected towards the spread of Islam by violence on the part of the Muhammadan rulers may be judged from the fact that even in the centres of Muhammadan power, such as Delhi and Agra, the Muhammadans in modern times in the former district hardly exceed one-tenth, and in the latter they did not form one-fourth of the population. A remarkable example of the worthlessness of forced conversion is exhibited in the case of Bodh Mull, Raja of Majhauili, in the district of Gorakhpoor; he was arrested by Akbar in default of revenue, carried to Delhi, and there converted to Islam, receiving the name of Muhammad Salim. But on his return his wife refused to let him into the ancestral castle, and, as apparently she had the sympathy of his subjects on her side, she governed his territories during the minority of his son Bhawani Mal, so that the Hindu succession remained undisturbed. Until recently there were strange survivals of similarly futile false conversion, noticeable in certain customs of Hindu sect called the Bishnois, the

principal tenet of whose faith is the renunciation of all Hindu deities, except Vishnu. They used recently to bury their dead, instead of burning them, to adopt Ghulam Mohammad and other Mohammadan names and use the Muslim form of salutation. They explained their adoption of these Mohammadan customs by saying that having once slain a Qadi, who had interfered with their rite of widow burning, they have compounded for the offence by embracing Islam. They have now, however, renounced these practises in favour of Hindu customs.

But though some Muhammadan rulers may have been more successful in forcing an acceptance of Islam on certain of their Hindu subjects than in the last mentioned cases, and whatever truth there may be in the assertion that "it is impossible even to approach the religious side of the Mohammadan position in India without surveying first its political aspect", we undoubtedly find that Islam has gained its greatest and most lasting missionary triumphs in times and places in which its political power has been the weakest, as in Southern India and Eastern Bengal. Another missionary movement may be said roughly to centre round the city of Multan. This in the early days of Arab conquest was one of the outposts of Islam, when Muhammad b Qassim had established Muhammadan supremacy over Sindh (A.C. 714). During the three centuries of Arab rule there were naturally many accessions to the faith of the conquerors. Several Sindian princes responded to the invitation of Caliph Omar bin Abdul Aziz to embrace Islam. The people of Sawandari—who submitted to Muhammad bin Qassim and had peace granted

to them on the condition that they would entertain the Mussulmans and furnish guides—are spoken of by Albula-dhari (writing about a hundred years later) as professing Islam in his time; and the despatch of the conqueror frequently refer to the conversion of unbelievers.

That these conversions were in the main voluntary, may be judged from the toleration that the Arabs, after the first violence of their onslaught, showed towards the idolatrous subjects. The people of Brahmanabad for example, whose city had been taken by storm, were allowed to repair their temple, which was a means of livelihood to the Brahmans, and nobody was to be forbidden or prevented from following his own religion, and generally, where submission was made, quarter was readily given, and the people were permitted the exercise of their own creed and laws. During the trouble that befell the Caliphate in the latter half of the ninth century, Sindh neglected by the central government, came to be divided among several petty princes, the most powerful of whom were the Amirs of Multan and Mansurah. Such disunion naturally weakened the political powers of the Mussulmans, which had in fact begun to decline earlier in the century. For in the reign of Al Mutassim (A.C. 833-842), the Indians of Sindan declared themselves independent, but they spared the mosque in which the Mussulmans were allowed to perform their devotions undisturbed. The Muhammadans of Multan succeeded in maintaining their political independence, and kept themselves from being conquered by the neighbouring Hindu princes, by threatening, if attacked, to destroy an idol which was held in great vene-

ration by the Hindus and was visited by the pilgrims from the most distant part. But in the hour of political decay, Islam was achieving missionary success. Al Buladhari tells the following story of the conversion of the king of Osayfan, a country between Kashmir, Multan and Kabul. The people of this country worshipped an idol for which they had built a temple. The son of the king fell sick, and he desired the priests of the temple to pray to the idol for the recovery of his son. They retired for a short time, and then returned saying: "We have prayed and our supplications have been accepted." But no long time passed before the youth died. Then the king attacked the temple, destroyed and broke in pieces the idol, and slew the priests. He afterwards invited a party of Muhammadan traders, who made known to him the unity of God; whereupon he believed in the unity and became a Muslim. A similar missionary influence was doubtless exercised by the numerous communities of Muslim merchants who carried their religion with them into the infidel cities of Hindustan. Arab geographers of the tenth and twelfth centuries mention the name of many such cities, both on the coast and inland, where the Mussulmans built their mosques, and were safe under the protection of native princes, who even granted them the privilege of living under their own laws. The Arab merchants at this time formed the medium of commercial communication between Sindh and the neighbouring countries of India and the outside world. They brought the produce of China and Ceylon to the seaports of Sindh and from there conveyed them by way of Multan to Turkistan and

Khorassan.

It would be strange if these traders, scattered about in the cities of unbelievers, failed to exhibit the same proselytising zeal as we find in the Muhammadan traders elsewhere. To the influence of such trading communities was most probably the conversion of Sammas, who ruled over the Sind from A.C. 1351-1521. While the reign of Nanda b, Babinniyah of this dynasty is specially mentioned as one of such "peace and security that never was this prince called upon to ride forth to battle, and never did a foe take the field against him," it is at the same time described as being "remarkable for its justice and an increase of Islam." This increase could thus only have been brought about by peaceful missionary methods. One of the most famous of these missionaries was the celebrated saint, Saiyyid Yusuf al Din, a descendant of 'Abdal Qadir Jilani, who was bidden in a dream to leave Baghdad for India and convert its inhabitants to Islam. He came to Sind in 1422 and after labouring there for ten years he succeeded in winning over to Islam 700 families of the Lohana caste, who followed the example of two of their number, by name Sundarji and Hansraj; these men embraced Islam, after seeing some miracles performed by the saint, and on their conversions received the name of Adamjee and Taj Mohammad respectively. Under the leadership of the grandson of the former, these people afterwards migrated to Cutch, where the numbers increased by converts from among the Cutch Lohanas.

Sind was also the scene of labours of Pir Sadraldin, the Ismaili missionary, who was the head of the Khojah

sect about the year 1480. In accordance with the principles of accommodations practised by this sect, he took a Hindu name and made certain concessions to the religious belief of the Hindus whose conversion he sought to achieve, and introduced among them a book entitled Dasavatar or incarnation of Vishnu; this book has been from the beginning the accepted scriptures of the Khojah sect, and it is always read by the bedside of the dying and periodically at many festivals; it assumes the nine incarnation of Vishnu to be true so far as they go, but to fall short of the perfect truth, and supplements this imperfect Vishnu system by the cardinal doctrine of the Ismailians, the incarnation and coming manifestation of Ali. Further, he made out Brahma to be Muhammad, Vishnu to be Ali and Adam Shiv. The first Pir Sardar al Din's converts were won in the village and towns of Upper Sind; he preached also in Cutch and from these parts the doctrines of these sects spread southwards through Gujrat to Bombay and at present day Khojah communities are to be found in almost all trading towns of Western India and on the seaboard of Indian Ocean.

Pir Sardar al Din was not however the first Ismailian missionaries who came to India. He was preceded by Abdallah, a missionary sent from Yemen about 1067; he is said to have been a man of great learning, and is credited with the performing of many miracles, whereby he convinced a large number of Hindus of the truth of his religion. The second Ismaili missionary, Nur al Din, generally known by the Hindu name he adopted, Nur Satsagar, was sent to India from Alamut, the stronghold

of the grandmaster of the Ismailis, and reached Gujarat in the reign of Hindu King, Siddha Raj (A.C.1094-1143). He adopted a Hindu name but told the Muhammadans that his real name was Saiyed Sadat; he is said to have converted the Kunbis, Kharwas, and Koris, low castes of Gujrat.

As Nur Satsagar is revered as the first missionary of the Khojas so is Abd Allah believed by some to have been the founder of the sects of Bohras, a large and important community of Shiahs, mainly of Hindu origin, who are found in considerable numbers in the chief commercial centre of Bombay presidencies. But others ascribe the honour of being the first Bohra missionary to Mulla Ali, of whose proselytising methods the following account is given by Shiah historian: "As the people of Gujrat in those days were infidels and accepted as their religious leader an old man whose teaching they blindly followed, Mulla Ali saw no alternative but to go to the old man and asked to become his disciple, intending to set before him such convincing arguments that he would become a Mussulman, and afterwards to attempt the conversion of others. He accordingly spent some years in the service of the old man, and having learned the language of the people of the country, read their books and acquired the knowledge of their sciences. Step by step he unfolded to the enlightened mind of the old man the truth of the faith of Islam, and persuaded him to become a Mussulman. After his conversion, some of his disciples followed the old man's example. Finally, the chief minister of the king of that country became aware of the old man's conversion

to Islam, and going to see him submitted to his spiritual guidance and likewise became a Muslim. For a long time, the old man, the minister and the rest of the converts to Islam, kept the fact of their conversion concealed and through fear of the king always took care to prevent it coming to his knowledge; but at length the king received the report of the minister's having adopted Islam and began to make enquiries. One day, without giving previous notice, he went to the minister's house and found him bowing his head in prayer and was vexed with him. The minister recognised the purpose of King's visit and realised that his displeasure has been excited by suspicions aroused by his prayer, with its bowing and prostrations; but the guidance of God and divine grace befitting the occasion, he said that he was making these movements because he was watching a serpent in the corner of the room. When the king turned towards the corner of the room, by divine providence he saw a snake there, and accepted the minister's excuse and his mind was cleared of all suspicions. In the end the King also secretly became a Mussulman, but for reasons of state concealed his change of mind; when however, the hour of his death drew near, he gave orders that his body was not to be burnt, as is the custom of the infidels. Subsequently to his decease, when Sultan Zafar, one of the trusty nobles of Sultan Firuz Shah, king of Delhi, conquered Gujrat, some of the Sunni nobles who accompanied him used arguments to make people join the Sunni sect of the Muslim faith; so some of the Bohras are Sunnis, but the greater part remained true to their original faith.

Several small groups of Mussulmans in Cutch and Gujrat traced their conversion to Imam Shah of Pirana, who was actively engaged in missionary work during the latter half of the fifteenth century. He is said to have converted a large body of Hindu cultivators, by bringing about a fall of rain after two seasons of scarcity. On another occasion meeting a band of Hindu pilgrims passing through Pirana on their way to Benares, he offered to take them there; they agreed and in a moment were in the holy city, where they bathed in the Ganges and paid their vows; they then woke to find themselves still in Pirana, and adopted the faith of the saint who could perform such miracle. He died in 1512 and his tomb in Pirana is still an object of pilgrimage for Hindus as well as for Mussulmans.

Many of the Cutch Mussulmans that are of Hindu descent reverence as their spiritual leader Dawal Shah Pir, whose real name was Malik Abdul Latif, the son of one of the nobles of Mahmud Bigarah (1459-1511), the famous monarch of the Muhammadan dynasty of Gujrat, in whose reign popular tradition assigns the date of conversion of many Hindus.

It is in Bengal however, that the Muhammadan missionaries in India have achieved their greatest success, as far as numbers are concerned. A Muhammadan kingdom was first founded here at the end of twelfth century by Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji, who conquered Behar and Bengal and made Gaur the capital of latter province. The long continuance of Muhammadan rule would naturally assist the Islam, and though the Hindu rule was

restored for ten years under the tolerant Raja Kans, whose rule is said to have been popular with his Muhammadan subjects, his son Jatmall renounced the Hindu religion and became a Mussulman. After his father's death in 1414, he called together all the officers of the state and announced his intention of embracing Islam, and proclaimed that if the chiefs would not permit him to ascend the throne, he was ready to give up to his brother; whereupon they declared they would accept him as their king, whatever religion he might adopt. Accordingly, several learned men of the Muslim faith were summoned to witness the Raja renounce the Hindu religion and publicly profess his acceptance of Islam: he took the name of Jalaluddin Mohammad Shah, and according to tradition numerous conversions were made in his reign. Many of these were however due to force, for his reign is signalised as being the only one in which any wholesale persecution of the subject Hindus is recorded, during the five centuries and a half of Muhammadan rule in East Bengal.

Conversion, however, often took place at other times under the pressure from the Muhammadan government. The Rajas of Kharagpoor were originally Hindus, and became Muhammadans, because, having been defeated by one of Akbar's generals, they only allowed to retain the family estates on the condition that they embraced Islam. The Hindu ancestor of the family of Asad Khan in Chittagong, was deprived of his caste by being forced to smell beef and had per force to become a Muhammadan, and several instances of the same kind might be quoted.

Murshid Quli Khan (son of a converted Brahman) who was made governor of Bengal by the Emperor Aurangzeb at the beginning of the eighteenth century, enforced a law that only official or landlord, who failed to pay the revenue that was due or was unable to make good the loss, should with his wife and children be compelled to become Muhammadans. Further it was the common law that any Hindu who forfeited his caste by a breach of regulations could only be reinstated by the Muhammadan government: if the government refused to interfere, the out-caste had no means of regaining his position in the social system of the Hindus, and would probably find no resource but to become a Mussulman.

The Afghan adventurers who settled in this province also appear to have been active in the work of proselytising, for besides the children that they had by Hindu women, they used to purchase a number of boys in times of scarcity, and educate them in the tenets of Islam. But it is not in the ancient centres of the Muhammadan government that the Mussulmans of Bengal are found in large numbers, but in the country districts, in districts where there are no traces of settlers from the West, and in places where low caste Hindus most abound. The similarity of manners between the low caste Hindus and the followers of the Prophet, and the caste distinction which they still retain, as well as their physical likeness, all bear the same testimony and identify the Bengal Mussulmans with the aboriginal tribes of the country. Here Islam met with no consolidated religious system to bar its progress, as in the north west of India, where the Muhammadan invaders

found the Brahmanism full of fresh life and vigour after its triumphant struggle with Buddhism; where, in spite of persecutions, its influence was the inspiring force in the opposition offered by the Hindus, and retained its hold on them in the hour of their deepest distress and degradation. But in Bengal the Muslim missionaries were welcomed with open arms by the aborigines and the low castes on the very outskirts of Hinduism, despised and condemned by their proud Aryan rulers. "To these poor people, the fishermen, hunters, pirates and low caste tillers of the soil, Islam came as revelation from on high. It was the creed of the ruling race, its missionaries were men of zeal who brought the gospel of the unity of God and the equality of men in its sight to a despised and neglected population. The initiatory rite rendered relapse impossible, and made the proselyte and his posterity true believers for ever. In this way Islam settled down on the richest alluvial province of India, the province which was capable of supporting the most rapid and densest increase of population. Compulsory conversion are occasionally recorded. But it was not a force that Islam owed to its permanent success in lower Bengal. It appealed to the people, and it derived the great mass of its converts from the poor. It brought in a higher conception of God, and a noble idea of the brotherhood of man. It offered to the teeming low castes of Bengal, who had sat for ages abject on the outermost pale of the Hindu community, a free entrance into a new social organisation.

The existence in Bengal of definite missionary efforts is said to be attested by certain legends of the zeal of

private individuals on behalf of their religion, and the graves of some of these missionaries are still honoured and are annually visited by hundreds of pilgrims. One of the earliest of these was Sheikh Jalal Al Din Tabrizi who died in 1244 A.C. He was a pupil of the great saint Shahabuddin Suharwardy. In the course of his missionary journeys he visited Bengal, where a shrine to which is attached a rich endowment was erected in his honour, the real site of his tomb being unknown. Many miracles are ascribed to him among others that he converted a Hindu milkman to Islam by a single look.

In the nineteenth century there was a remarkable revival of the Muhammadan religion in Bengal and several sect that owe their origin to the influence of the Wahabi reformation, have sent their missionaries through the province purging out the remnants of Hindu superstitions awakening religious zeal and spreading the faith among unbelievers.

Some accounts still remain to be given of Muslim missionaries who have laboured in parts of India other than those mentioned above. One of the earliest of these is Shaykh Ismail, one of the most famous Saiyeds of Bukhara, distinguished alike for his secular and religious learning; he is said to have been the first Muslim missionary who preached the faith of Islam in Lahore, whither he came in the year A.C. 1000. Crowds flocked to listen to his sermons, and the number of his converts swelled rapidly day by day, and it is said that no unbeliever ever came into personal contact with him without being converted to Islam.

The conversion of the inhabitants of the western plains of the Punjab, is said to have been effected through the preachings of Bahaul Haq of Multan, and Baba Fariuddin of Pak Pattan who flourished about the end of the thirteenth century and beginning of the fourteenth century. A biographer of the latter saint gives a list of sixteen tribes who were won over to Islam through his preaching, but unfortunately provides us with no details of this work of conversion.

One of the most famous of the Muslim saints of India and a pioneer of Islam in Rajputana was Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti, who died in Ajmer in A.C. 1234. He was a native of Sajistan to the east of Persia, and is said to have received his call to preach Islam to the unbelievers in India while on pilgrimage to Medina. Here the Prophet appeared to him in dream and thus addressed him: "The Almighty has entrusted the country of India to thee. Go thither and settle in Ajmer. By God's help the faith of Islam shall, through the piety and that of thy followers, be spread in that land." He obeyed the call and made his way to Ajmer which was then under Hindu rule and idolatory prevailed throughout the land. Among the first of his converts here was a Yogi who was the spiritual preceptor of the Raja himself; gradually he gathered round him a large body of disciples whom his teachings had won from the ranks of infidelity, and his fame as a religious teacher became very widespread and attracted to Ajmer great numbers of Hindus whom he persuaded to embrace Islam. On his way to Ajmer he is said to have converted as many as 700 persons in the city of Delhi.

Of immense importance in the history of Islam in India was the arrival in that country of Saiyed Jalaluddin, who is said to have been born at Bokhara in 1199, he settled in Uch, now in Bhawalpoor territory, in 1244, and converted number of persons in the neighbourhood to Islam; he died in 1291, and his descendants, many of whom are also revered as saints, have remained as guardians of his shrines up to the present day and form the centre of the widespread religious influence. His grandson, Sayyid Ahmed Kabir, known as Makhdum Jahaniyan, is credited with having effected the conversion of several tribes in the Punjab. About a mile to the east of Uch is situated the shrine of Hassan Kabiruddin, son of Saiyyed Sadruddin who was a contemporary of Jalaluddin; both father and son are said to have made many converts, and such was the influence attributed to Hassan Kabiruddin that it was said as soon as his glance fell upon any Hindu, the latter would accept Islam.

Rather later in the same century, a native of Persian Iraq, by name Abu Ali Qalandar came into India and took up his residence at Panipat, where he died at the ripe age of 100 in A.C. 1324. The Muslim Rajpoots of this city numbering about 300 males, are descendants from a certain Amir Singh, who was converted by this saint. His tomb is still held in honour and is visited by many pilgrims.

Another such was Sheikh Jalaluddin, a Persian who came in India about the later half of the fourteenth century and settled down at Sylhet, in lower Assam, in order to convert the people of these parts to Islam. He

achieved a great reputation as a holy man and his proselytising labours were crowned with eminent success; the second half of the nineteenth century specially witnessed a great revival of missionary activity, the number of annual conversion being variously estimated at ten, fifty, one hundred and six hundred thousand. But it is difficult to obtain accurate information on account of the peculiarly individualistic character of Muslim missionary work and the absence of any central organisation or of any thing in the way of missionary reports, and the success that attends the labours of the Muslim preachers is sometimes much exaggerated, *i.e.* in Punjab a certain Hajji Moham-mad is said to have converted as many as 20,000 Hindus, and a Maulvi in Bangalore boasted that in five years he had made as many as 1,000 converts in this city and its suburbs. But that there are Muslim missionaries engaged in active and successful propagandist labours is undoubted, and the following examples are the typical of the period referred to.

Maulvi Baqa Hussain Khan, an itinerant preacher, in the course of several years converted 228 persons, residents of Bombay, Cawnpore, Ajmer and other cities. Maulvi Hassan Ali converted twenty-five persons, twelve in Poona, the rest in Hyderabad and other parts of India. In the district of Khandesh, in the Bombay presidency, the preaching of the Qadi of Nasirabad, Saiyed Safdar Ali, won over to Islam a large number of artisans who followed the trade of armourers and blacksmiths. A number of persons of the same trade, who form a small community of about 2,000 souls in the district of Nasik, were converted in a curious way in 1870. The presbyterian missionaries of

Nasik had for a long time been trying to convert them from Hinduism, and they were in a state of hesitation as to whether or not to embrace Christianity when a Mohamadan faqir from Bombay, who was well acquainted with their habits of thoughts expounded to them the doctrine of Islam and succeeded in winning them over to that faith.

In Patiala, Moulvi Ubaidullah, a converted Brahman of great learning proved himself to be a zealous preacher of Islam, and in spite of the obstacles that were at first thrown in his way by his relatives, achieved so great a success that his converts almost filled an entire ward of the city. He wrote controversial works, which have passed through several editions, directed against the Christian and Hindu religions. In one of these books he thus speaks of his own conversion: "I Muhammad Ubaidullah, the son of Munshi Kota Mall, resident of Payal, in the Patiala state, declare that this poor man in his childhood and during the life-time of his father was held in the bondage of idol worship, but the mercy of God caught me and drew towards Islam *i.e.* I came to know the excellence of Islam and the deficiencies of Hinduism, and I accepted Islam heart and soul and counted myself one of the servants of the prophet of God (peace be on him!) At that time, intelligence, which is the gift of God, suggested to me that it was mere folly and laziness to blindly follow the customs of one's own forefathers and misled by them and not make researches into matters of religion and faith, whereon depends our eternal bliss or mercy. With these thought I began to study the current faiths and investigated each of

made are thus defensive rather than directly proselytising. Some preachers too turn their attention rather to the strengthening of the foundations already laid, and endeavour to rid their ignorant co-religionist of their Hindu superstitions, and instill in them a purer form of faith, such efforts being in many cases the continuation of earlier missionary activity. The work of conversion has indeed been often very imperfect. Of many, nominally Muslims, it may be said they are half Hindus: they observe caste rules, they join in Hindu festivals, and practise numerous idolatrous ceremonies. In certain districts also *e. g.* in Mewat and Gurgaon, large number of Muhammadans may be found who know nothing of their religion but its name; they have no mosques, nor do they observe the hours of prayer. This is especially the case among Muhammadans of the villages or in parts of the country where they are isolated from the mass of believers; but in the towns the presence of learned religious men tends, in great measure, to counteract the influence of former superstitions, and makes for a purer and more intelligent form of religious life. In recent years, however, there has been speaking generally, a movement noticeable among the Indian Muslims towards a religious life more strictly in accordance with the laws of Islam. The influence of the Christian Mission schools has also been very great in stimulating among some Muhammadans of the younger generation a study of their own religion and in bringing about a consequent awakening of religious zeal. Indeed, the spread of education generally, has led to a more intelligent grasp of religious principles and to an increase of

religious teachers in outlying and hitherto neglected districts. The missionary movement of reform (from whatever cause it may originate) may be observed in every different parts of India. In the eastern districts of Punjab, for example, after Mutiny, a great religious revival took place. Preachers travelled far and wide through the country, calling upon believers to abandon their idolatrous practices and expounding the true tenets of the faith. Now, in consequence, most villages, in which Muhammadans own any considerable portion, have a mosque while a grosser and more open idolatries are being discontinued. In Rajputana also, the Hindu tribes who have been from time to time converted to Islam in rural districts, are now becoming more orthodox and regular in their religious observances, and are abandoning the ancient customs which hitherto they had observed in common with their idolatrous neighbours. The Mewatis, for example, now follow the orthodox Mohammadan form of marriage instead of the Hindu ritual they formerly observed, and have abjured the flesh of the wild boar. A similar revival in Bengal has already been spoken above.

Such movements and the efforts of individual missionaries are, however, quite inadequate to explain the rapid increase of the Muhammadans of India, and one is naturally led to enquire what are the causes other than the normal increase of population, which adds so enormously to their numbers. The answer is to be found in the social condition of life among the Hindus. The insults and contempts heaped upon the lower castes of Hindus by their co-religionists, and the impassable obstacles placed

in the way of any member of these castes desiring to better his condition, show up in striking contrast the benefits of a religious system which has no outcastes, and gives free scope for the indulgence of any ambition. In Bengal, for example, the weavers of cotton piece goods, who are looked upon as vile by their Hindu co-religionists, embraced Islam in large numbers to escape from the low position to which otherwise they are degraded. A very remarkable instance of a similar kind occurs in the history of the north-eastern part of the same province. Here in the year 1550, the aboriginal tribe of the Kocch established dynasty under their great leader, Haju; in the reign of his grandson, when the higher classes in the state were received into the pale of Hinduism, the mass of the people, finding themselves despised as outcastes, became Muhammadans.

The escape that Islam offers to the Hindus from the oppression of the higher castes was strikingly illustrated in Tinneveli at the close of the nineteenth century. A very low caste, the Shanars, had in recent years become prosperous and had the right to worship in temples, from which they had hitherto been excluded. A riot ensued, in the course of which the Shanars suffered badly at the hands of the Hindus of a higher caste, and they took refuge in the pale of Islam. Six hundred Shanars in one village became Muslims in one day, and their example was quickly followed in other places.

Similar instances might be given from other parts of India. A Hindu who has in any way lost caste and being in consequence repudiated by his relations and by the society of which he has been accustomed to move, would

naturally be attracted towards a religion that receives all without distinction, and offers to him a grade of society equal in social state to that from which he has been banished. Such a change of religion might well be accompanied with sincere conviction, but men also who might be profoundly indifferent to the number of names of the deities they were called upon to worship, would feel very keenly the social ostracism entailed by their loss of caste, and become Muhammadans without any religious feeling at all. The influence of the study of Muhammadan literature also, and the habitual contact with Muhammadan society, must often make itself insensibly felt. Among the Rajput princes of the nineteenth century in Rajputana and Bundelkhund, such tendencies towards Islamism were to be observed, tendencies, which, had the Moghal Empire lasted, would probably had led to their ultimate conversion. They not only respected Muhammadan saints, but had Muhammadon tutors for their sons; they also had their food killed in accordance with the regulations laid down by the Mohammadan law and joined in the Muhammadon festivals as faqirs, and praying like true believers. On the other hand, it has been conjectured that the present position of affairs, under a government perfectly impartial in matters religious, is much likely to promote conversions among the Hindus generally than was the case under the Muhammadan kingdoms, when Hinduism gained union and strength from the constant struggle with an aggressive enemy. Hindus too, often, flock in large numbers to the tombs of Muslim saints on the day appointed to commemorate them, and a childless father,

with the feeling that prompts the polytheist to leave no God unaddressed, will present his petition to the God of the Muhammadans, and if children are born to him, apparently in answer to this prayer, the whole family, will in such cases (and example are not infrequent) embrace Islam. In the north-west provinces and Oudh alone, 2,333,643 Hindus (or 5.78 per cent) of the total Hindu population of these provinces) returned themselves as worshippers of Muhammadan saints. (Census of India, 1891, Vol. XVI part 1, pp. 217, 244 Allahabad 1894).

Love for a Muhammadan is occasionally the cause of the conversion of a Hindu, since the marriage of a Muslim woman to an unbeliever, is absolutely forbidden by the Muslim Law. Hindu children, if adopted by wealthy Mussulmans, would be brought up in the religion of their new parents, and a Hindu wife, married to a follower of the prophet, would be likely to adopt the faith of her husband. As the contrary process rarely takes place, the number of Muhammadans is bound to increase in proportion to that of the Hindus. Hindus, who for some reasons or other have been driven out of their caste, the poor who have become the recipients of Muhammadan charity, or women and children who have been protected when their parents have died or deserted them—(such cases would naturally be frequent in times of famine)—form a continuous though small stream of additions from the Hindus. There are often local circumstances favourable to the growth of Islam; for example, it has been pointed out that in the villages of the Terai, in which the number of Hindus and Muhammadans happened to be equal-

ly balanced, any increase in the predominance Muhammadans is invariably followed about killing of cows and other practises offensive to Hindu feeling. The Hindus gradually move away from the village, leaving behind of their creed only the Chamar ploughman in the service of the Muhammadan peasants. These latter eventually adopt the religion of their masters, not from any conviction of its truth, but from the inconvenience their isolation entails.

Some striking instances of conversions from the lower caste of the Hindus are also found in the agricultural districts of Oudh. Although the Mohammadans of this province form only one-tenth of the whole population, still the small groups of Mohammadan cultivators from scattered centres revolt against the degrading oppression to which their religion hopelessly consigns these lower castes. The advantages that Islam holds out to such classes as the Koris and Chamars, who stand at the lowest level of Hindu society, and the deliverance which conversion to Islam brings them, may be best understood from the following passage descriptive of their social condition as Hindoos. "The lowest depth of misery and degradation is reached by the Koris and Chamars, the weavers and the leather cutters to the rest. Many of these in the northern districts are actually bond slaves, having hardly the spirit to avail themselves of the remedy offered by our Courts, and descend with their children from generation to generation as the value of an old purchase. They hold the plough of their Brahman or Chhattri masters, whose pride of caste forbids him to touch it, and

live with the pigs, less clean than themselves, in separate quarters apart from the rest of the village. Always on the verge of starvation, their lean black and ill formed figures, their stupid faces, and their repulsively filthy habits reflect the wretched destiny which condemns them to be lower than beasts among their fellow men, and yet they are far from incapable of improvement is proved by the active and useful stable service drawn from among them, who receive good pay and live well under European masters. A change of religion is the only means of escape open to them, and they have little reason to be faithful to their present creed.

To complete the survey of Islam in northern India, some accounts still remain to be given of the spread of this faith in Kashmir. Of all the provinces and states of India (with the exception of Sind) Kashmir contains the largest number of Muhammadans (namely 70 per cent) in proportion to the whole population; but unfortunately historical facts that should explain the existence in this state of so many Mussulmans almost entirely of Hindu or Tibetan origin, are very scanty. But all the evidence leads us to attribute it on the whole to a long continued missionary movement inaugurated and carried out mainly by faqirs and Dervishes, among whom were Ismailian preachers sent from Alamut.

It is difficult to say when this Islamising influence first made itself felt in the country. The first Muhammadan king of Kashmir, Sadrudin, is said to have owed his conversion to a certain Darwesh, Bulbul Shah in the early part of the fourteenth century. The saint was the only

religious teacher who could satisfy his craving for religious truth, when, dissatisfied with his own Hindu faith, he looked for a more acceptable form of doctrine. Towards the end of the same century (1388) the progress of Islam was most materially furthered by the advent of Saiyyid Ali Hamdani, a fugitive from his native city of Hamdan in Persia, where he had incurred the wrath of Timur. He was accompanied by 700 Saiyyeds, who established hermitages over all the country and by their influence appear to have assured the acceptance of new religion. Their advent appears, however to have stirred up considerable fanaticism as Sultan Sikandar (1398-1417) acquired the name of Butshikan from his destruction of Hindu idols and temples, and his prime minister, a converted Hindu, set on foot a fierce persecution of the adherents of his old faith, but on his death, toleration was again made the rule of the kingdom. Towards the close of the fifteenth century, a missionary by name Mir Shamsuddin, belonging to a Shia sect, came from Iraq, and with the aid of his disciples, won over a large number of converts in Kashmir.

When under Akbar, Kashmir became the province of the Moghal empire, the Muhammadan influence was naturally strengthened and many men of learning came in to the country. In the reign of Aurangzeb, the Rajput Raja of Kishtwar was converted by the miracles of a certain Saiyed Shah Fariduddin and his conversion seems to have been followed by that of the majority of his subjects, and along the route which the Mughal emperors took on their progresses into Kashmir we still find Rajas who are the descendents of the Muhammadanised Rajputs.

In South India.

The history of Islam in southern India by no means always continued to be so peaceful a character, but it does not appear that the forcible conversions were perpetrated when the Muhammadan powers became paramount under Hyder Ali (1767-1782) and Tipu Sultan (1782-1799), can be paralleled in the earlier history of this part of India. However, this may be, there is no reason to doubt that constant conversions by peaceful methods were made to Islam from the lower castes, as is the case at the present day when accession to Islam from time to time occur from among the Tiyans, who are said to form one of the most progressive communities in India, the Mukkuvans or fishermen caste, as well as from Cherumans or agricultural labourers, and other serf castes, to whom Islam brings deliverance from the disabilities, attaching to the outcastes of the Hindu social system; occasionally also, converts are drawn from Nayars and the native Christians. In Ponnani, the residence of the spiritual head of the majority of the Muhammadans of Malabar, there is an association entitled Minnatal Islam Sabha, where converts are instructed in the tenets of their new faith and material assistance rendered to those under instruction; the average number of converts received in this institution in the course of first three years of the twentieth century was 750. So numerous have these conversions from Hinduism been, that the tendency of the Muhammadans of the west as well as the east coast of southern India has been to reversion to the Hindu or the aboriginal tribe, and, except in the case of some of the nobler families, they now

in great part present all the characteristics of an aboriginal people, with very little of the original foreign blood in them. In the Western coast districts the tyranny of the caste intolerance is peculiarly oppressive; to give but one instance, in Travancore certain of the lower castes may not come nearer than seventy-four paces to a Brahman, and have to make a grunting noise as they pass along the road, in order to give warning of their approach. Similar instances might be abundantly multiplied. What wonder, then, that the Mussulman population is fast increasing through conversion from these lower castes, who thereby free themselves from such degrading oppression, and raise themselves and their descendants in the social scale?

In fact, the Mapillas of the west coast are said to be increasing so considerably through accessions from the lower classes of the Hindus, as to render it possible that in a few years the whole of the lower races of the west coast may become Muhammadans.

It was most probably from Malabar that Islam crossed over to the Laccadiv and Maldiv islands, the population of which is now entirely Muslim. The inhabitants of these islands owe their conversion to the Arab and Persian merchants who established themselves in the country, intermarrying with the natives, and thus smoothing the way for the work of active proselytism. The date of the conversion of the first Mohammadan Sultan of Maldiv islands, Ahmed Shanurazah, has been conjectured to have occurred about A.D. 1200, but it is very possible that the Muhammadan merchants had introduced their religion into the island as much as three centuries before, and the

process of conversion must undoubtedly have been a gradual one. No detail, however, have come down to us.

At Male the seat of Government, is found the tomb of Shaykh Yusuf Shamsuddin, a native of Tabriz, in Persia, who is said to have been a successful missionary of Islam in these islands. His tomb is still held in great veneration, and always kept in good repair, and in the same part of island are buried some of his countrymen who came in search of him, and remained in the Maldives until their death.

The introduction of Islam in the neighbourhood of Laccadiv Islands is attributed to an Arab preacher, known to the islander by the name of Mumba Mulyaka; his tomb is still shown at north and as the present Qadhi of that place claims to be twenty-sixth in descent from him, he probably reached this island in the twelfth century.

The Deccan was also scene of the successful labours of many Muslim missionaries. It has already been pointed out that from very early times Arab traders had visited the towns on the west coast; in the tenth century we are told that the Arabs were settled in large numbers in the towns of Konkon, having intermarried with the women of the country and living under their own laws and religion. Under the Muhammadan dynasties of the Brahmanid (1347-1490) and Bijapur (1489-1686) kings, a fresh impulse was given to Arab immigration, and with the trader and soldier of fortune came the missionaries seeking to make spiritual conquests in the cause of Islam, and win over the unbelieving people of the country by their preaching and example, for of forcible conversions we have no

record under the early Deccan dynasties, whose rule was characterised by a striking toleration.

One of the Arab preachers, Pir Mahabir Khamdayat, came as missionary to the Deccan as early as A.C. 1304, and among the cultivating classes of Bijapoor are to be found descendants of Jains who were converted by him. About the close of the same century a celebrated saint of Gulbarga, Saiyyid Mohammad Gesu Daraz, converted a number of Hindus of the Poona district, and twenty years later, his labours were crowned with a like success in Belgaum. At Dhanau still resides the descendants of the relative of one of the greatest saints of Islam, Saiyyid Abdul Qadir Jilani of Baghdad; he came to western India about the fifteenth century, and after making many converts in the Konkon, died and was buried at Dhanau. In the district of Dharwar, there are large numbers of weavers whose ancestors were converted by Hashim Pir Gujrati, the religious teacher of Bijapur kings Ibrahim Adil Shah II, about the close of the sixteenth century. These men still regard the saint with special reverence and pay great respects to his descendants. The descendants of another saint, Shah Mohammad Sadiq Sarmast Husseini, are still found in Nasik; he is said to have been most successful of Muhammadan missionaries; having come from Medina in 1568, he travelled a greater part of western India and finally settled at Nasik—in which district another very successful Muslim missionary Khwaja Khunmir Hussaini had begun to labour about fifty years before. Two other Arab missionaries may be mentioned, the scene of whose proselytising efforts was laid in the district of Belgaum,

namely Saiyyed Muhammad b. Saiyyid Ali and Saiyyid Umar Aydrus Bashban.

The first advent of Islam in southern India dates as far back as the eighth century, when a band of refugees, to whom the Mapillas trace their descents came from Iraq and settled in the country. The trade in spices, ivory, gems, etc. between India and Europe, which for many hundred years was conducted by the Arabs and Persians, caused a continual stream of Muhammadan influence to flow in upon the west coast of southern India. From the constant influx of foreigners there resulted a mixed population, half Hindu and half Arab or Persian, in the trading centres along the coast. Very friendly relations appear to have existed between these Muslim traders and the Hindu rulers, who extended to their protection and patronage in consideration of the increased commercial activity and conquest prosperity of the country, that resulted from their presence in it, and no obstacles were placed in the way of proselytising the native converts receiving the same considerations and respect as the foreign merchants, even though before their conversion they had belonged to the lowest grade of society.

The traditional account of the introduction of Islam into Malabar, as given by a Mohammadan historian of the sixteenth century, represents the first missionaries to have been a party of pilgrims on their way to visit the footprint of Adam in Ceylon, on their arrival at Cranganore the Raja sent for them and the leader of the party, Shaykh Sharaf b. Malik, who was accompanied by his brother, Malik b. Dinar, and the nephew Malik b. Habib,

took the opportunity of expounding to them the faith of Islam, and the mission of Mohammad, and "God caused the truth of Prophet's teaching to enter into the king's heart and he believed therein; and his heart became filled with love of Prophet and he bade the Shaykh and companion come back to him again on their return from their pilgrimage to Adams footprint." On the return of the pilgrims from Ceylon, the king secretly departed with them in a ship bound for the coast of Arabia, leaving his kingdom in the hands of viceroys. Here he remained for sometime, and was just about to return to his own country, with the intention of erecting mosques there and spreading the faith of Islam, when he fell sick and died. On his death bed he solemnly enjoined on his companions not to abandon their proposed missionary journey to Malabar, and to assist them in their labours, he gave them letters of recommendations to his viceroys, at the same time bidding them conceal the fact of his death. Armed with these letters, Sharaf b, Malik and his companions sailed for Caranganore, where the King's letter secured for them a kindly welcome, and a grant of land, on which they built a mosque. Malik b. Dinar decided to settle there, but Malik b. Habib set out on a missionary tour with the object of building mosques throughout Malabar. "So Malik bin Habib set out for Quilon with his worldly goods and his wife and some of his children, and he built a mosque there; then leaving his wife there, he then went on to Hili Marawi, where he built a mosque; and so the narrative continues, giving a list of seven other places at which the missionary erected mosques finally returning to

Caranganore. Later on, he visited all these places again to pray in the mosque of each of them, and came back, "praising and giving thanks to God for the manifestation of the faith of Islam in a land filled with unbelievers."

In spite of the circumstantial character of this narrative, there is no evidence of its historicity. Popular belief puts the date of the events recorded as far back as the lifetime of the Prophet; with a mild scepticism Zaynuddin thought that they could not have been earlier than the third century of the Hegirah; but there is more authority for the one date than for other, or for the common Mapilla tradition of the existence of the tomb of a Hindu king at Zafar on the coast of Arabia, bearing the inscription "Abdal Rahmanul Samiri, arrived A.H. 212, died A.H. 216; and the mosque at Madayi, said to have been founded by Malik b. Dinar, bears an inscription commemorating its erection in 1124.

But the legend certainly bears witness to the peaceful character of the proselytising influences that were at work on the Malabar coast for centuries. The agents in this work were chiefly Arab merchants, but Ibne Batutah makes mention of several professed theologians from Arabia and elsewhere, whom he met in various towns on the Malabar coast. The Zamorin of Calicut, who was one of the chief patrons of Arab trade, is said to have encouraged conversion to Islam, in order to man the Arab ships on which he depended for his aggrandisement, and to have ordered that in every family of fisherman in his dominion one or more of the male members should be brought up as Mohammadan. At the beginning of the

sixteenth century the Mapillas were estimated to have formed one-fifth of the population of Malabar, spoke the same languages as the Hindus, and were only distinguished from them by their long beards and peculiar head dress. But for the arrival of the Portugese, the whole of this coast would have become Mohammadan, because of the frequent conversions that took place and the powerful influences exercised by the Muslim merchants from other parts of India, such as Gujrat and the Deccan, and from Arabia and Persia.

Similarly it has been conjectured that but for the arrival of the Portugese, Ceylon might have become a Mohammadan kingdom. For before the Portugese armaments appeared in the Indian seas, the Arab merchants were undisputed masters of the trade of this island (where indeed they had formed commercial establishments centuries before the birth of the Prophet) and were to be found in every seaport and city, while the facilities for commerce attracted large numbers of fresh arrivals from their settlement in Malabar. Here as elsewhere the Muslim traders intermarried with the natives of the country and spread their religion along the coast. But no very active proselytising movement would seem to have been carried on, or else the Singhalese showed themselves unwilling to embrace Islam, as the Muhammadans of Ceylon at the present day appear mostly to be of Arab descent.

But there would appear to be no record of the individuals who took part in the propaganda, except in the case of historian Abdur Razzaq, who has himself left an account of his unsuccessful mission to the court of the

Zamorin of Calicut. He was sent on this mission in the year 1441 by the Timurid Shah Rukh Bahadur, in response to an appeal made by an ambassador who had been sent by the Zamorin of Calicut to this monarch. The ambassador was himself a Mussalman and represented to the Sultan how excellent and meritorious an action it would be to send a special envoy to Zamorin, to invite him to accept Islam in accordance with the injunction "Summon thou to the ways of thy Lord with wisdom and with kindly warning." And open the bolt of darkness and error that locked his benighted heart and left the splendour of the light of the faith and the brightness of the sun of knowledge shine into the window of his soul. Abdur-razaaq was chosen for this task and after an adventurous journey reached Calicut, but appears to have met with a cold reception, and after remaining there for six months abandoned his original purposes and made his way back to Khorassan, which he reached after an absence of three years.

Another community of Mussalmans in Southern India Ravuttans, ascribe their conversion to the preaching of missionaries whose tombs are held in veneration by them to the present day. The most famous of these was Sayyid Nathar Shah (A.C. 969-1039) who after many wanderings in Arabia, Persia and Northern India, settled down in Trichinopoly, where he spent the remaining portion of his life in prayer and works of charity, and converted a large number of Hindus to the faith of Islam; his tomb is much resorted to as a place of pilgrimage and the Moham-madons renamed Trichinopoly as Natharnagar, after the

name of their saint. Saiyyed Ibrahim Shahid (said to have been born about the middle of twelfth century) whose tomb is at Ervadi, was a militant hero who led an expedition into the Pandyan kingdom, occupied the country for about twelve years, but was at length slain; his son's life was, however, spared in consideration of the beneficent rule of his father, and a grant of land given to him, which his descendants enjoy to the present day. The latest of these saints, Shah Al Hamid (1532-1600) was born at Manikpoor in Northern India and spent most of his time in visiting the holy shrines of Islam and in missionary tours chiefly throughout southern India; he finally settled in Nagore where the descendants of his adopted son are still in charge of his tomb.

Another group of Mohammadans of Southern India, the Duddekulas, who live by cotton cleaning (as their name denotes) and by weaving coarse fabrics, attribute their conversion to 'Baba Fakhruddin, whose tomb they revere at Penukonda. Legend says that he was originally a king of Sistan, and abdicating his throne in favour of his brother he became a religious mendicant. After making the pilgrimage to Mecca and Madina, he was bidden by the Prophet in a dream to go to India; here he met Nathar Shah, of Trichinopoly, and became his disciple and was sent by him in company with 200 religious mendicants as a proselytising mission. The legend goes on to say that they finally settled in Pendkondah in the vicinity of a Hindu temple, where their presence was unwelcome to Rajah of the place, but instead of appealing to force he applied several tests to discover whether the Muhamma-

dan saint or his own priest was the better qualified by sanctity to possess the temple. As a final test he had both of them tied up in sacks filled with lime and thrown into tanks. The Hindu priest never reappeared but Baba Fakhr-uddin asserted the superiority of his faith by being miraculously transported to a hill outside the town. The Raja thereupon became a Muslim and his example was followed by a large number of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and the temple was turned into a mosque.

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL CONDITIONS¹

Iran under the Arabs.

Soon after the conquest of Persia, the country was divided into the following governments each under an Arab Vali. 1—Jibal which included Hamdan, Rai (Tehran) Sultania and Zanzan. 2—Khuzistan. 3.—Fars. 4—Kirman. 5—Makran. 6.—Sajistan. 7—Khurassan. 8—Azerbaijan, 9—Tabaristan, including Gilan Kumis and Jurjan. When Yazid son of Mohallib was appointed governor of Khorassan to succeed Qutaibah, who upon the succession of Sulayman to the Khilaphate had rebelled and been killed, his arms were directed in the first instance against Gurgan, the ancient Hyrcania which with neighbouring Tabaristan had maintained the independence although it lay across the direct route from Irak into Central Asia. Yazid captured Dihistan, and drove the inhabitants of Gurgan into Elburz where they were finally forced to submit. Then he invaded Tabaristan, the modern Marzendran. In this campaign he at first successfully marched through the plain country and occupied Sarai. A battle was fought in which the Muslims routed the enemy, but being lured into ambush they suffered such severe

¹ Mark Sykes: History of Persia (in part)

losses that Yezid was glad to purchase his safe retreat for 300,000 Dinars. Returning to Gurgan, which had revolted, he besieged its prince for seven months in a stronghold situated on a mountain top which was accessible only by a route. This was probably Kala Maran. In the end he made prisoners of the garrisons and wreaked a terrible vengeance on the rebels. The success turned his head and he rebelled against the Omayyad Khaliph Yezid II (A.H. 101-105). He seized Iraq and so far made good his position that the governors ruled in his name in Fars, Kerman, and other centres in Persia. Musailma the Caliph's brother was selected to lead the Syrian army, which defeated the rebels, and Yezid their chief was killed in the battle. His brothers who fled by sea to the Kerman province, were put to death and their families sold as slaves. As a reward for his great services Musailma was appointed governor of both Iraq and Khorassan. To the latter province he sent his son-in-law, an effeminate man quite out of place as Warden of the Marches.

It was about this period that Mohammad the great grandson of Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet, began to advance the pretensions of Hashimite branch of the Qureish. To conciliate the Shia party, it was claimed that the rights of the house of Ali has been surrendered and merged in the Abbasside representatives, and emissaries from Mohammad, who lived in a retreat in the wilds of Palestine, began to visit Khorassan, where their Hashimite propaganda found a fruitful soil. The Pioneers were put to death, but the cause prospered nevertheless, and gained many adherents throughout Persia and Iraq.

The Abbaside party was greatly strengthened by the attempt of Zayd, a grandson of Husayn to raise a rebellion. The Kufans true to their record, covenanted with him but failed him when he raised his standard. He died fighting bravely, and with him the cause of the Shias was lost for the time being, while the opposition to the Omayyad Dynasty became more united in favour of the house of Abbas.

During the caliphate of Merwan II (A.C. 126-129), who succeeded Yezid III there were various insurrections in Syria, which were crushed with the vindictive cruelty that was now usual. Of greater importance was the rebellion of Ibne Muaviyah, a descendant of Jafar, brother of Ali. Upon the accession of Merwan, the Pretender was acknowledged at Kufa, but being deserted by its ever fickle inhabitants, he retreated to Madain, where thousands rallied to his standard. With this force and the support of the Kharijities, Ibne Muawiya established himself at Istakhir, and his governors ruled in Isfahan, and in Rei and in Kumis. In A.H. 129, the Pretender was defeated by the Syrian troops and, like other pretenders, fled to Khorassan. The famous Abu Muslim, was at that time established at Merv, nominally in the interests of the Hashimite sections of the Koreish, but actually as the agent of the house of Abbas. Ibn Muawaiyah not unnaturally looked to him for support, but was put to death by the governor of Herat, on Abu Muslim's orders.

Everywhere the weakening control of the Central power allowed the Arabs to waste their strength in internal feuds, and alike in Spain in the extreme West, in

Africa, in Syria, and in Iraq the situation was gloomy for the Caliph. In Khorassan too, the able governor Nasr who had proved his military capacity by defeating and capturing Kursul the Khakan, was opposed by the Yeminite faction, and the ceaseless quarrel between Modhar and Yemen convulsed Khorassan as it was convulsing Spain.

At this juncture Abu Muslim raised the black standard of the house of Abbas, with the following inscription from the Quraan; "Permission to fight is accorded to those who take up arms because they have been unjustly treated." This remarkable man destined to overthrow the Omayyad dynasty and to set the house of Abbas in stead, was purchased as a slave at Mecca by Mohammad, the head of the Abbaside family. Showing conspicuous ability, he was employed as a confidential agent, and constantly travelled between Southern Palestine and his native province Khorassan. It was in consequence of his reports that active steps were taken. Intrigues conducted with consummate skill resulted in the capture of both Herat and Merve. Nasr reported that 20,000 men had sworn allegiance to Abu Muslim, and concluded his appeal for help against the growing movement.

I see amidst the embers the glow of fire, and it
wants but little to burst into a blaze,

And if the wise ones of the people quench it not,
its fuel will be corpses and skulls.

Verily, fire is kindled by two sticks, and verily,
words are the beginning of the warfare.

And I cry in amazement, "Would that I knew whether the House of Omayya were awake or sleep.

Merwan attempted to send reinforcements to his Viceroy, and he arrested Ibrahim, who henceforth disappears from the scene; but Abul Abbas and Abu Jaafar, Ibrahim's brothers, escaped to Kufa, where they were protected and remained in hiding.

Meanwhile Kahtaba the able general of Abu Muslim had twice defeated Nasr, at Nishapoor and again at Gurgan. Worn out and a fugitive, Nasr fled through Rei and died before reaching Hamdan. Kahtaba following close behind, entered Rei, defeated Caliph's army, which had marched up from Kerman, and took Nehavand. He then avoided Ibne Hobaya at Jalola, and descended into Iraq. The Syrian general, however, forestalled him and fell back on Kerbela. An encounter followed near that city, when Kahtaba defeated the army of the Caliph but lost his own life. Under his son Ibne Kahtaba, Kufa was taken, and Abul Abbas, emerging from hiding, was after a time proclaimed Caliph by the victorious army.

While this struggle was going on, another force detached by Kahtaba from Nahavand defeated the troops of Merwan's son Abdullah and occupied Upper Mesopotamia. The Caliph who lived at Harran, at last took the field in person, crossed the Tigris, and marched down its left bank with an army of 120,000 strong. He crossed the Zab by a bridge, intending to fight a decisive battle with the Abbasid forces commanded by Abdullah uncle of Abul Abbas. To stimulate the avaricious Arabs Merwan told

them that he had brought treasures with which to reward them. This caused a movement towards the camp on the part of some of the tribesmen and was mistaken for flight. A panic caused and the entire army fled, thousands being drowned in the great Zab. From the field of battle the victors advanced on Mosul and the unfortunate Merwan was hunted down and killed. With him perished the Omayyad dynasty.

During the reign of Abbasides, a rebellion broke out in Persia in A.H. 138 (758-760). Sindbad a follower of the old religion, having collected a force to avenge his master Abu Muslim who was treacherously assassinated by the ungrateful Abu Jaafar Mansur in A.H. 137, and who, he stated, upon being threatened by Mansur, had pronounced "the Most Great name" of God, and had flown away in the form of white dove. For some three months Sindbad held the country from Rei to Nishapore, and the rebellion was not crushed until sixty thousand of his followers had been killed. Three years later the governor of Khorassan rebelled, and was defeated by Ibne Khuzaimah, with whom was associated Mahdi, the Caliph's son and eventual successor. The Sipahbud of Tabaristan, with whom Sindbad had taken refuge after his defeat, and to whose care the treasure of Abu Muslim had been entrusted, also rebelled, with the result that Tabaristan was conquered and Sipahbud in despair took poison.

It was about this time that a strange Persian sect which believed in the transmigration of souls and held that the Caliph was temporarily inhabited by the deity, suddenly invaded the palace of Mansur, crying out, "It is the house

of our Lord, he that gives us food to eat and water to drink." The Caliph, relying on his own authority to quell the tumult, imprisoned their leaders, whereupon they stormed the prison and nearly killed him. These fanatics who were called Rawandis from the town of Ravind near Isphahan, continued to exist until the beginning of the tenth century. They were, curiously enough, the cause of the institution of a 'sentry horse', which henceforward was always kept ready saddled at Court for an emergency.

A much more serious danger than the rebellion in Persia threatened Mansur when Medina and Basra rose to support the claim of the house of Ali. The rebellious cities were dealt with one after the other, and at Medina, the Pretender was deserted and fell fighting. His brother Ibrahim took possession of Basra and then of Kufa, but he, too, fell in battle after almost winning the day, and his army broke up and dispersed.

The latter years of the reign of Mansur were comparatively peaceful. There was rising at Herat under Ustad or master craftsman, Sis, who declared himself a prophet, and occupied Khorassan and Sistan until Ibn Khuzaymah defeated him with heavy slaughter. Perhaps the chief event lies in the fact that the rebel's daughter Khayzran was taken by Mahdi into his harem, and became the mother of Hadi and Haroun.

To the beginning of Mahdi's reign (A.H. 158-161) belong the incidents made familiar to English readers in Moore's well known poems. Its hero, Mokanna, known as Hakim Burqai or the physician with face veil, was born

at Karez a town between Meshhed and Herat. He taught the emanance of the diety in Adam, in Abu Muslim, whose name was still intensely revered, and in himself. For four years he held Central Asia, until being besieged and seeing no hope, he cast himself into a tank of vitriol.

In 176 A.H. (792) Yahya had gained possession of Dylam, a district to the west of Resht now termed Talish and grew so powerful and maintained so brilliant a court that the jealousy of the Caliph (Harounal Rashid) was excited. Fazal the Bermecide governor of Persia, was sent to attack him with a large army, but terms were made and a document was drawn up and sealed, according to which Yahya was to visit Baghdad and there receive honourable treatment. The Caliph, upon arrival of the prince, treated him with honour and made him costly presents, but shortly afterwards discovered a flaw in the document and threw him into prison.

In the war of succession between Amin and Mamoun after the death of Harounal Rashid, one Tahir, a Persian by race and a client of Khuzai's clan took the side of Mamoun, defeated and killed Ali Amin's general near Rei.

After this victory Tahir assumed the offensive, and with the support of Harthama advanced on the capital by way of Ahwaz, defeating army on the way. Amin, distracted first by a rebellion in Syria and then by a conspiracy which was for a time successful was in position to withstand him. Receiving the allegiance of Arabia for his master, Tahir captured Wasit, and Baghdad alone remained loyal to the Amin. After a siege which lasted for a whole year the city was taken by storm. Amin who had

taken refuge in the citadel, then surrendered, and was put to death by Khorassan soldiery. By an act of folly Tahir after his victories was removed from the supreme command in favour of Hassan, brother of Fazal, the Persian Vizier, and although he was appointed governor of Syria and Mesopotamia instead, he was naturally disinclined to take active steps, and remained at Ricca a passive spectator of event.

Mamun apparently determined to make Merv his capital did not appear at Baghdad. In consequence a rising was fomented at Kufa in favour of the house of Ali, and other rebellion broke out in Asia Minor and Arabia. Harthama faithful to Mamun, travelled to Merv to warn him of the dangerous position of affairs, but owing to the influence of the Vizier, he was not allowed even to speak, but was hurried off to prison where he died.

The insurrection of Ibrahim speedily collapsed, and Mamun showed mercy and entire absence of vindictiveness towards the rebels. Tahir was appointed viceroy of the East; but he showed signs of disloyalty and was thereupon poisoned, probably by an agent of the Caliph. But the influence he had acquired was so great that his son Talha was allowed to succeed him; and by this appointment Khorassan received the status of a semi-independent kingdom.

In 222 A.H. (837 A.C.) Motassim's most successful general was Afshin, who, after two years of hard fighting in the neighbourhood of Ardebil, destroyed the power of Babek. This man had been the scourge of the Khilaphate for twenty years, in the course of which he had defeat-

ed six armies and occasioned the slaughter of a quarter of a million men, taken thousands of men and women prisoners. After his final defeat by Afshin, Babek fled; but was handed over to the Caliph by an Armenian prince with whom he had taken sanctuary, and was put to a cruel death. For twenty years this brigand who professed transmigration and mystic doctrines, terrorized the northern provinces, holding his own in Azerbaijan, and defeating army after army sent against him.

2—Revival of native independence.

During the Caliphate of Mutwakkil a certain Salih bin Nasr collected a body of men in Sistan under the pretext of crushing an outbreak of Kharijites, and seized the province. The Tahirid prince marched into Seistan in person and succeeded in putting an end to the fighting between Salih and the Kharijities, but upon his departure Salih again took the field and was apparently allowed to hold the province without further molestation.

Among the most noble adherents was a certain Yakub bin Lais, known as Saffar or Coppersmith, from the trade pursued by his family. This extraordinary adventurer, who while still a boy was noted for his generosity; upon reaching manhood took to highway robbery. His generosity and courage speedily brought him success and a large following, which he placed at the disposal of Salih, and in A.H. 247 (861), the year in which Mutawakkil was assassinated, he became commander of the army of Seistan under Caliph's successor. His first success was the capture of Herat in A.H. 253 (876) and having overrun and annexed Kerman and subsequently Fars, he soon be-

came ruler of an extensive kingdom. He founded a short lived dynasty which is remembered with such affection by Persians, both because they consider it to be the first Persian dynasty after the Arab Conquest, and also because it sprang from Seistan, the home of Rustum and of the Keianian line.

In 257 (871) he sent an envoy to Muaffaq with instructions to state that his master deemed himself to be a humble slave of the Caliph, to whom he proposed to offer his respect in person. As it was thought desirable to keep Yakub as far away from Baghdad as possible, the Caliph bestowed on him the governments of Balkh, Tokharistan and other distant eastern provinces. Strengthened by his appointment as a high official of the Caliphate, Yakub was everywhere victorious, even distant Kabul being captured together with its Turkish king who was a Buddhist. At length the Sistan adventurer was ready to attack the Tahirid prince, who had apparently been a passive spectator of conquests which had robbed him of many of his provinces, and who offered no desperate resistance. Having mastered Khorassan, Yakub proceeded to attack native Tabaristan. At Sari he defeated Hassan bin Zaid, its independent prince of the house of Ali, pursuing him towards Gilan, he lost most of his men in the pestelintial swamps, and perforce returned to Sistan to recruit.

Yakub was now master of half Persia, in addition to many eastern provinces, and elated by a succession of victorious campaigns, in A.H. 262 (875) he decided to try conclusions with the Caliph himself. He began with a formal demand for the province of Fars; Motamid not

only refused this, but "dismissed" the conqueror from the governorship of Khorassan. Yakub immediately advanced on Baghdad, and near the capital met Muaffaq, who defeated him with heavy loss, which included his entire camp. Yakub, was, however, not discouraged, but returning to Fars, prepared to raise a new army. His self confidence was so great that he refused with scorn an offer of assistance from the Zenj leader, which he answered in the words of the Koran, "I worship not which ye worship; neither do ye worship that which I worship." Three years later, in A.H. 265 (878), the Caliph sent an embassy of friendly remonstrance to Yakub. When it arrived, the great adventurer lay dying, with his sword by his side and crust and onions ready to be served for his coarse meal. In this state he received the envoy, and gave the reply "If I live, the sword shall decide between us, if I conquer, I will do what I please; if thou art victorious, bread and onion are my fare; and neither thou nor fortune can triumph over a man accustomed to such a diet"; shortly afterwards he died.

After the death of Yakub his brother Amr made peace with the Caliph, and ruled Khorassan and other provinces for six years as his deputy. He was then dismissed by Motamid, who by that time felt strong enough to deal with him. But he lingered on at Nishapur, which he loved, and the following lines which are attributed to him give his lament.

Its stones are turquoises, its bushes rhubarb,
and its dust edible clay. How could I leave such
a land.

The province, however, together with an army, was assigned to Rafi ibne Harthama, who defeated the Saffarid and drove him back to his native Sistan. In A.H. 279 (870) Motamid was succeeded by Motazid, who reversing his brother's policy, appointed Amr to Khorassam. In A.H. 283 (896) Amr took possession of Nishapoor, defeating Rafi, whom he captured and slew, and whose head he sent to Baghdad. Intoxicated by this success, the victor demanded Ismail should be dismissed from Transoxiana, and the Caliph with characteristic diplomacy seems to have encouraged him to attack the Samanid ruler, whom he at the same time encouraged to resist. The campaign after keen struggle, ended in A.H. 288 (900) in the seige and capture of Balkh, where Amr was made prisoner. Ismail was prepared to treat his captive generously but the Caliph insisted on his being sent to Baghdad, where he was executed in A.H. 290 (901). He was succeeded by his son, who held Sistan for only a year, after which the power of the short lived powerful dynasty came to an abrupt end; although Sistan for a few generations and Baluchistan for many centuries continued to be governed by scions of Saffarid House.

More powerful than the Saffarid, which flourished under half a century was the Samanid dynasty which endured for a century and quarter. Its founder was a Saman, a Persian nobleman of Balkh, descended from Bahram Chubin. Being driven away from his native town he appealed to Asad ibn Abdullah, who was governor of Khorassan under Mahdi and strongly espoused his cause. In gratitude for the help thus afforded, Saman

who had until then remained a follower of the old religion, not only became a convert to Islam, but named his son Asad as a compliment to his protector. Saman had four sons, who served Haroun, and materially aided in putting down the rebellion of Rafi. Mamun in recognition of these services gave the four brothers the governorship of Samarkand, Farghana, Shash, and under the Tahirid dynasty these grants were confirmed. The ablest member of the family was Ahmed, who was succeeded by his son Nasr, and it would appear that upon the downfall of the Tahirids the Samanid retained their position, probably by an arrangement made with Yakub bin Lais, though the details are obscure. At any rate, in A.H. 261, or two years after the overthrow of Tahirids by Yakub, Nasr and his brother Ismail are found to be in possession of the provinces across the Oxus, and this year is taken as the date of the foundation of the dynasty. Ismail showed conspicuous military capacity, but the two brothers quarrelled and a civil war ensued in which Ismail emerged as victor, with remarkable generosity he permitted Nasr to retain the government until death 279 A.H. (892).

Upon the death of Nasr, Ismail succeeded and began a career of conquest which raised his principality to a kingdom. Curiously enough, his first campaign was a holy war against the Christian settlement of Taraz, which resulted in its conquest and the conversion to Islam of its Amir and leading inhabitants. The defeat and capture of Amir in 288 A.H. (900) recorded in the preceding section were the culminating success of his career, and were rewarded by a patent from the Caliph appointing

him to the governorship of Khorassan, Turkestan, Transoxiana, Sind, Hind and Jurgan.

Ismail was succeeded by Ahmed, who, was murdered in A.H. 301 (913) after an inglorious reign. Nasr, his son a boy of eighteen, then ascended the throne, and during a reign of thirty years extended the possessions of the dynasty by annexing Rei, Kum, and Isphahan, at the request of Caliph, to whom the dynasty rendered homage and nominal obedience. Nasr II was the Mamun of the Samanid dynasty. He was succeeded by Nuh, under whom the dynasty decayed, its kings falling under the influence of Turkish slaves who were promoted to the highest posts. Nuh was followed by Abdul Malik, the patron of Alaptagin, who was killed at Polo after a rule of seven years; his brother Mansur revived the prestige of the dynasty by exacting a tribute from Dayalmi rulers of Iraq and Fars. Nuh II who succeeded Mansur, suffered a series of vicissitude, and is chiefly famous for having been cured by Abu Ali ibne Sina, the great Avicenna. His nobles conspired against him and invited Boghra Khan who from his capital at Kashghar ruled over a confederacy of Turkish tribes, to invade Samanid kingdom. Boghra Khan captured Bokhara, but died shortly afterwards, and Nuh who had become fugitive returned. His nobles then fled to Khorassan, where they obtained help from Dayalmi prince, and Nuh in despair summoned to his aid Subuktagin who had founded the state of Ghaznah at the expense of the Samanid dynasty. He readily sent a force which won a decisive victory near Herat, the battle being chiefly memorable as the first in which his son Mahmud, the

future champion of Islam fought, winning thereby his reward from the grateful Nuh the province of Kharassan. The son and successor of Nuh, Mansur Ali was a poet and his successor Abdul Malik the last of his line was seized by Ilak Khan of the Turkish dynasty mentioned above and thrown into prison where he died.

During the reign of Nasr II, the province of Tabaristan was recovered for the House of Ali by Hassan bin Ali Utrush, but a few years later, in A.H. 1316, a certain Mardawij bin Ziyar contrived to seize it and to occupy Isphahan and the country beyond Hamdan as far as Holowan. He established a dynasty which was noted for its devotion to learning and which endured for rather over a century, although no member except its founder played a leading role on the stage of Persia. The best known of his successors was Kabus, A.H. 366-403 (976-1012), the patron of Alberuni who dedicated to him his famous Chronology of ancient nations and resided at his court for many years. Nor was he merely a patron of letters; he was himself a poet of no mean order, writing both in Arabic and Persian. The career of Kabus was extremely chequered. He protected Fakhruddaulah, one of the Buwayhid princes, against his two brothers, the powerful Azaddaulah and Muayyadu Daulah, and in consequence was driven out of his principedom for many years. Upon his return, although he was famed for "the learning, poetry, munificence, magnanimity, wisdom, prudence, and intelligence, his nobles, exasperated by his cruelty, deposed him and afterwards had him secretly murdered. Kabus' grandson, Keikaus bin Iskandar was the author of famous Kabus Namah,

which gives rules of life in a delightful manner and is accessible to the European world through a French translation.

The founder of the Ziyarid House quite unconsciously assisted to found another dynasty far more powerful than his own, by bestowing the governorship of Karaj, a district to the south of Hamdan, on Ali bin Buwaiyah, who, aided by his two capable brothers, soon extended his powers southwards, to the province of Fars which he occupied. This family sprang from a Persian tribe in Daylam which claimed descent from Bahram Gor and professed Shia doctrines. Ali seems to have been a favourite of fortune. After his conquest of Fars he was one day lying on a coach in the palace of Shiraz when he observed a snake dart out from a hole. Calling for masons to break down the wall, he found a secret chamber, in which was collected the entire treasure of Yakut, the dispossessed governor, who had represented the Caliph. Shortly afterwards a tailor came to Ali for orders, and upon his sending for a stick to measure cloth, the man, mistaking his intention, threw himself at his feet and said that if his life is spared he would give up all Yakuts cloth, which he was at once allowed to do.

Ahmed, the most famous of Ali's brothers, embarked on a career of conquest. It appears that Kerman city was held by a robber called Mohammad ibn Ilyas but known as Abu Ali, and when Ahmed, having captured Sarjan, was besieging Kerman, Abu Ali adopted the unusual course of fighting by day and sending gifts by night, with the result that he was allowed to keep Kerman on the

condition that he paid tribute. In an expedition to Jiruft the Buwayhid prince was ambushed in the Dildurd pass, and according to the chronicler escaped with only a few men and the loss of one of his hands. This however, was merely a temporary reverse, and marching westwards he annexed Fars in conjunction with his brothers in A.H. 322 (934).

The Caliph was obliged to recognize the conqueror as his lieutenant. After organising the captured provinces, Ahmed first moved westward and annexed Khuzistan, and ultimately in A.H. 334 (945) entered Baghdad, where the Caliph perforce welcomed him, bestowing on him the title of Muizuddaula and the rank of Amir ul Umra which was held by family for many generations. The unfortunate Caliph was subsequently deposed, and his successors were puppets in the hands of Buwayhid chiefs, who retained all power for about a century.

Muisuddaulah died in 356 (967), and the next great member of the dynasty was Azaddudaulah, who held the post of Vizier to the puppet Khaliph and ruled Iraq and Fars. His operations against Fakhruddaulah have already been referred to in connection with Kabus. He was an exceptionally enlightened prince, who encouraged pilgrims by restoring the sacred buildings at Medina, Nejef and Kerbela. Moreover, he established hospitals for the poor of Baghdad, appointing physicians with regular salaries and purchasing drugs and other requisites. In Fars, too, his public works were numerous, and one of them, a dam on the river Kur, which is crossed a few miles south of Persepolis is still termed Bandi Amir, or the Dam of the Amir.

The decay of the dynasty was rapid after the death of Azaddaulah, and Mahmoud of Ghazna prepared to attack Rei, which during the minority of Majdudaulah was ruled by his mother. This intrepid woman returned the following reply to an envoy sent by Mahmoud to demand her submission: "Had this message been sent in the lifetime of my deceased Lord it would have caused serious trouble, but such is no longer the case. I know Sultan Mahmoud and am aware that he will never undertake a campaign without weighing all the risks. If he attacks and conquers a weak woman, where is the glory of such achievement. If he be repulsed, the latest ages will hear of his shame."

Whether or not Mahmoud was swayed by these arguments, he postponed his designs until Majdudaulah has attained his majority. Then in A.H. 387 (997) he sent an army and occupied Khorassan and Kumis. The family, however, retained Southern Persia and Iraq for some time to come, until the Seljuks appeared on the scene and ended the rule of this Persian dynasty.

Under Abdul Malik the Samanid there was a certain Alaptagin a Turkish slave, who became commander in-chief in Kharassan. Upon the death of the monarch he retired to Ghazna in the Sulaiman mountains, where his father had been governor, and there he, his son and his slave Salaktagin in turn ruled in obscurity. The real founder of the famous dynasty was Subuktagin another slave, who succeeded to the governorship through his marriage with Alaptagin's daughter. This truly remarkable man extended his petty fief both eastwards and

westwards, on the one hand defeating the Rajputs and seizing Peshawar, and on the other, as already accounted, recovering Khorassan, in A.H. 384 (994) from the Samanid monarch Nuh.

Subktagin was succeeded by Mahmoud, one of the greatest figures on the stage of Central Asia, whose twelve campaigns in India and zeal for Islam have earned for him the title of idol breaker. In Sistan the conqueror found a certain Khalaf, a grandson of Amir Lais, who had held the province of Kerman for some time. Of him it is related that, in order to induce the Sistanis to support him in his designs on that province, he arranged for his envoys to be poisoned at Kerman and then raised an army to avenge the outrage.

According to Persian legend, Mahmoud spared the life of Khalaf, who won his heart by addressing him as Sultan and who passed the rest of his existence as Master of the Horse to the "Idol breaker". Later on in A.H. 398 (1007) Khorassan was invaded by Ilak Khan, the destroyer of the Samanid dynasty, who took advantage of the absence of Mahmoud from Central Asia. But the great soldier speedily returned, and in a desperately contested battle near Balkh gained a decisive victory, driving the invader into Oxus; some years later he also annexed Bokhara and Samarkand. Mahmoud's last campaign was directed against the Buwayhid dynasty, and after the capture of Isphahan, he returned to Ghazna where he died in A.H. 421 (1030). Soon after the death of Mahmoud the western provinces of his extensive empire were annexed by the Seljuks, with the result that the dynasty looked

eastwards for compensation and became thenceforth so much identified with India that Lahore was selected as the capital of the later Ghaznavid princes.

Iran under Seljuks.

The advent of Seljuk Turks constitute a notable epoch in the history of the Middle and Near East, if only because it swept away those insignificant and divided dynasties and once again united Islam under a single powerful sway, stretching from Turkestan to the Mediterranean Sea. More than this, the Seljuks, with the fervour of recent converts, revitalised Islam, just as the Norsemen revitalised Christendom, and when Europe under Norman leaders attacked the East under the impulse of the Crusades it was the light horse of the Seljuks which met the heavy horse of the crusaders.

The Seljuks were a branch of Ghuzz Turks, from whom, however, they kept distinct. Their founder was Thuak (signifying bow) the father of Seljuk, who with his tribe crossed from Turkistan into Transoxiana and embraced Islam with deep fervour. He had two sons, Mikail and Israel who took part in the wars of the period and speedily came in collision with Mahmoud, and a year before the death of Mahmoud they attempted to invade Khorassan but were driven back. Mikail had two sons famous as Toghril and Chakir. Chakir Beg attacked and defeated the Ghaznavid general near Merv and in A.H. 429 (1037) Toghril seized Nishapore and after two crushing defeats on the army of Masud and his successor Maudud, Khorassan was finally recovered from the possession

of Ghaznavids who now turned their attention entirely to their Indian possession.

The conquest of Seljuks had now spread all over Persia, which was divided up among various branches of the ruling family and in A.H. 477, Toghril Beg crowned his victories by making a state visit to Baghdad. After remaining in Baghdad for some time, during which his neice, the sister of Alp Arsalan, was married to the Caliph, Toghril continued his victorious career until in Georgia and Iberia, his hordes came in collision with the armies of Byzantium. After Togral's death, Alp Arsalan son of Chakir Beg and younger brother of Malik Kaward succeeded him. Under him the boundaries of Seljuk Empire extended. Eastward subdued Herat, and later on Jand in Transoxiana. In Arabia he overcame the Fatimids and gained Mecca and Medina, thereby much augmenting his prestige. In A.H. 464 (1071) he defeated a vastly superior Byzantine army in Western Asia Minor and took the Emperor Diogenes Romanus prisoner. His last campaign was against Khwarizm where he was assassinated by a prisoner of war.

Malik Shah his successor 465-485 (1072-1092) was only seventeen when he was suddenly called to assume the responsibilities of the Empire, and his accession was by no means unchallenged. His uncle Kaward, marched to Rei, and at Karaj to the south of Hamdan, a desperate battle was fought which lasted for three days and three nights before the pretender was defeated. Meanwhile Altaghin, the Khan of Samarakand, had invaded the Empire, and in another quarter Ibrahim of Ghazna captured his uncle

Usman, but Ibrahim was pursued and routed by the Amir Gumushtigin, whose servant Anushtagin, was destined to found the dynasty of the Khwarizm Shahs. Supported by the Nizamul Mulk, Malik Shah weathered all these storms of state, together with the rebellion of a brother, and five years' after his accession he was in a position to extend still further the bounds of the Empire.

The death of Malik Shah in A.H. 485 unchained fierce rivalries, Barkiyaruk and Mahmoud his two sons from his wife Zobaydah and Turkan Khatun respectively started the fratricidal strife which broke the empire, Kerman, Khorassan, Syria, Asia Minor all coming under independent dynasties. Tutush founded the Syrian dynasty after the death of Mahmoud of small pox whom he backed and Sanjar appointed himself King of Khorassan. Mohammad obtained the supreme power by blinding the heir apparent Malik Shah II, a boy of five. He became the undisputed ruler of the heart of the Empire and during his reign waged incessant war on the Assassins. Upon his death his successor Mahmoud, a foolish boy of fourteen, attacked his powerful uncle Sanjar, who defeated him at Sawa to the west of Kum. Sanjar was the last great monarch of the Saljuks, after him, Iran again broke into petty kingdoms, a great part was incorporated in the dominion of Khwarizm Shahs and Ghorids, Fars, Luristan, and Azerbijan were ruled by Atabegs until Mongols swept them all away.

Iran under Mongols.

In A.H. 617 . (1220) Chengiz Khan opened a fresh campaign by the capture of Termez on the Oxus, which barred the road to Balkh. It was stormed on the 10th day and all the inhabitants were massacred. He then went into the winter quarters close by and ravaged neighbouring Badakhshan. In the spring he advanced on Balkh which offered no resistance. But the conqueror hearing that Jalauddin was organising an army at Ghazna, deliberately destroyed the city and massacred its thousand of inhabitants, preferring to leave a reeking charnel house in his rear rather than run the risk of having communications cut. Meanwhile his son Tuli has been despatched to complete the sack and ruin of Khorassan which had already been occupied in parts by Chebe and Subutay, and had left governors in some of the cities. The inhabitants of Tus, seeing that the Mongol ruler was isolated, had risen against him; but the revolt was easily put down by a body of three hundred Mongols stationed at Ostava, the modern Kuchan, and on their demand even the rampart of Tus were demolished by the terrified people. Tuli began his march into Khorassan in the autumn of A.C. 1220 preceded by an advance force ten thousand strong, which besieged Nisa to avenge the death of its chief, who had been killed by an arrow shot from the city walls. Here again the town was stormed, and men, women and children were massacred. Nishapore was not captured at the first attempt, and Togachar, a son-in-law of Chengez, was killed; but Subzawar was stormed and its seventy thousand inhabitants were massacred.

The first main operation undertaken by Tuli was the capture of Merv Shahijan, the famous capital of Sanjar, which had recovered from the devastation wrought by the Ghuzz and was at the zenith of its prosperity and civilisation. The Mongol prince, having by means of false promises obtained possession of the persons of the leading inhabitants of the doomed city, perpetrated a most horrible massacre of over half a million helpless inhabitants.

From the smoking ruins of what had been Merv, Tuli marched to Nishapore. Preparation had been for a vigorous defence. The Mongols on their sides made still greater preparations and in the event they carried the city by assault and massacred every living thing. The buildings were entirely demolished and the site was sown with barley. The last great city of Khorassan to be attacked was Herat. There a desperate resistance was offered for eight days, but after the governor had been killed, Tuli received the submission of the inhabitants and contented himself with putting the garrison to death.

Meanwhile the armies of Chebe and Subutay which had captured Rei and had pursued Mohammad to the Caspian Sea. Kum was their next objective Hamdan was spared in the first instance, but Zenjan and Qazwin were treated in the awful Mongol fashion. Tabriz was spared in return of a large sum of money, and the Mongols proceeded to the plain of Moghan, near the south west corner of Caspian. Contrary to the expectation they did not remain stationary but marched into Georgia in the mild winter, and being reinforced by bands of Turkomans and Kurds ravaged the country up to Tifis.

Returning thence they next besieged Maragha, which was destined to be the capital of Hulagu Khan and this was treated like other cities. Another Mongol division in A.H. 612 (1224) attacked Rei, Sava, Kum, Kashan, and Hamdan, massacring the inhabitants which had escaped from the earlier invasion. Fortunately Southern Persia escaped the Mongolian blast of death.

After the death of Chengiz Khan, his vast Empire was divided according to his will into five regions. 1—Turkestan. 2—Mongolia. 3—Russia and Siberia. 4—Persia, among his four sons Choghtary, Ogoty, Juli and Tuli respectively. Persia was partly recovered by the dauntless Jala-uddin who escaped from Chengez Khan by swimming the Indus. He returned and occupied Kerman, meanwhile his brother Ghiasuddin recovered Khorassan, Marzendran and Iraq, which he surrendered later to his elder brother who re-established himself as the Shah of Khorazm. He soon opened a campaign against Caliph Nasir, the enemy of his father. The campaign opened with the siege of Shuster, which, however, proved impregnable. He then marched on Baghdad and drew the Caliph's army into ambush, whereby he gained a decisive victory pursuing his defeated enemy to the gates of the capital. He did not attempt to take Baghdad, but marched north and invaded and occupied Azerbaijan. After occupying Tabriz he invaded Georgia, and in two campaigns captured Tiflis in A.H. 623 (1226). His next exploit was to extirpate a tribe of raiding Turkomans, and in the following year he ravaged Ismaili territories, and also beat a Mongol force at Damghan, to the east of Rei. The Mongols returned

in greater force under Charmoghun, pursued him until he was killed by a Kurdish tribesman. The Mongols now spread over Asia Minor and Syria. They also subjugated Kerman which was held by independent Atabegs.

Mangu was elected Khakan in A.C. 1251, and upon his accession two great expeditions were decided upon, one under Khubilay, to China and the other under a younger brother Hulagu Khan, the founder of the dynasty of the Il Khans of Persia. Hulagu put an end to the Assassins in A.H. 654 and the Khilaphate of Baghdad in A.H. 656 (1258). Hulagu lived for seven years after the capture of Baghdad. During this period he ruled as undisputed monarch of Iran. Maragha in the north-west corner of modern Persia was chosen as his capital.

During Hulagu's later years there was a revolt in Fars, but the Atabek Seljuk Shah was captured at Kazerun, the half way town between Bushire and Shiraz, and his execution speedily followed. In northern Persia, peace reigned because the land lay desolate, and only a timid remnant was left. So Hulagu died in peace and was buried in the island of Tala, in lake Urumia.

Abaga the eldest son of Hulagu was elected to succeed his father. He sent an expedition against the Mamulukes of Egypt but his hordes were routed by Baybars at the battle of Hims. Soon after Abaga died and was succeeded by Taghudar who proclaimed himself a Muslim under the name of Ahmed upon his accession, and despatched an embassy to Qalaun of Egypt to announce the fact and to make profession of his friendly intention. His conversion, however, brought his downfall. The army declared

for Arghun. Ahmed fled but was captured and killed by having his back broken. Arghun, Gyakhutu and Baydu remained heathens until Ghazan was elected to the throne in A.H. 694 (1295), who declared finally for Islam and henceforth all Ilkhanis were Muslims. With his successor Mohammad Khuda Banda Aljaitoo and Abu Said who died issueless ended the greatness of Ilkhanis.

The puppet Ilkhanis in the hands of rival amirs Jala-yar and Chaupan lingered until swept off with petty independent dynasties of Muzaffarids (1313-1393) of Kerman and Karts of Herat by Tamerlane.

Timurids in Iran.

Timur's history concerns Turkistan and will be taken notice there. In A.H. 782 (1380) he began his famous campaign in Persia, his first objective being Khorassan. Ghiasuddin Pir Ali, the Kart prince, after being lulled into false security, was surprised and submitted. His submission was accepted, but so heavy a contribution was levied on Herat and other towns that they were reduced to dire poverty. Kandhar and Kabul also submitted later on, but isolated strongholds continued to resist the various portions of what is now termed the kingdom of Afghanistan.

The famous natural fortress now known as Kalat Nadiri was invested, but it successfully resisted until an epidemic of plague caused its surrender. Marching through Heart and Afghan Sabzawar, his cavalry devastated the whole district; Zirreh was breached stormed without resort to siege operations. He then advanced on the city

of Seistan, and made a personal reconnaissance. In the year following the conquest of Sistan and the consolidation of his power in Khorassan, Tamerlane undertook what may be regarded as the first of the distant campaigns, hitherto familiar to him and not very far from his base. Crossing the Oxus with a powerful and well equipped army, he marched into the valley of Gurgan and camped near Astrabad. Its ruler who had submitted but had since rebelled, resisted for a month, and then, seeing no hope of success, left his state to be ravaged, and fled. After the conquest of Marzendran, Timur advanced on Rel and Sultanieh, and having taken these royal cities returned to Samarkand.

Two years later a second and even more distant campaign was undertaken, in the course of which Tamerlane occupied Azerbaijan, crossed the Aras, overran Georgia, and received the submission of the princes of Gilan, of the Khan of Lesgians and of the prince of Shirwan. His next objective was Van, the capital of the rising Kara Kyunlu dynasty, which was sacked; its prince Kara Yusufi, leaving it to its fate and remaining in exile until the conqueror had quitted the district.

Zaynul Abidin, son of Shah Shuja of the Muzaffarid dynasty, now occupied the throne of Fars. He had not followed out his father's policy of submission to Tamerlane, but had imprisoned his envoy. Consequently the great conqueror ordered a march on Isphahan, which formed the part of Muzaffarid dominions. This city surrendered followed by general massacre of the inhabitants proving treacherous after surrender and killing about

three thousand of Timur's men.

In A.H. (1392) hearing that the state of affairs in Persia was unsatisfactory, or more probably wishing to extend his conquests farther west, Tamerlane decided on another Persian campaign. He marched as before by way of Astrabad and Amul, reducing various strongholds which had held out against him and extirpating a nest of Ismailis, which had escaped from the massacre of Hulagu.

At the beginning of the following year he advanced on Khorramabad and Shustar, attacking and capturing the Kala Sufid, celebrated for its connexion with Rustam. He then marched on Shiraz, where to his astonishment his army, 30,000 strong, was charged by Shah Mansur, Prince of Muzaffar dynasty, at the head of 4,000 armoured clad horsemen. He was defeated and finally slain by Shah Rukh the celebrated son of Tamerlane. This sealed the doom of Muzaffarid dynasty, all the members of which were put to death.

Tamerlane made Pir Mohammad, the son of his eldest son Jahangir his sole heir, and when the news of the death of Timur reached Samarkand he was absent in Kandhar. Advantage of this was taken by his son Khalil Shah son of Miran Shah, who was passed over for succession. Supported by the great nobles and the army, Khalil took possession of the capital and was proclaimed Sultan. Meanwhile Shah Rukh, the fourth son of Tamerlane who was governor of Herat decided to bid for the Empire. Khalil Sultan retained possession of Samarkand but in 1409 he was seized by treachery and ceased to reign. Shah Rukh reigned as heir of Tamerlane for nearly half

a century in Persia and Central Asia. Ulugh Beg succeeded him who reigned till 853 (1441)—when he was taken prisoner by his son Abdul Latif in a revolt and had him murdered. Abdul Latif did not enjoy his ill gotten throne for long. Abu Saeed a descendant of Timur seized Samarkand and although Abdul Latif defeated him, he was murdered. Abu Said fought for the vacant throne with Babur and then with Abdullah Mirza, whom with the aid of Uzbeks he succeeded in killing. He then engaged in a long struggle for power, and by A.H. 870 (1465) his authority was established in Transoxiana, Northern Persia and Afghanistan. Two years later he invaded Azerbaijan with a powerful army, but Usun Hassan, the white sheep chief, cut off his supplies by raiding tactics and utterly defeated him. He was handed over to Yadgar Mirza, son of Shah Rukh, and to avenge the death of the latter at his hand was beheaded.

Sultan Ahmed, Abu Said's eldest son and successor, had to face frequent revolts, the southern province throwing off their allegiance while his brother Omar Shaykh, father of Babur, defeated him successfully in Ferghana. Despite this, the close of his long reign of twenty seven years was looked back with regret after his death, more specially in Bokhara, where he had erected many splendid buildings.

Sultan Husayn, the patron of Jami, of Mirkhond, and of Behzad the painter was the last prince of the Timurid dynasty. He summoned Babur to aid him in a campaign against Shaibani Khan, the Uzbek chief who had recently appeared on the scene.

During the decline of Timurids, the Kara Kyunlu (Black sheep) established themselves in Armenia and Azerbaijan. This was succeeded by the dynasty of Ak Kuyunlu (white sheep). Kara Yusuf whose sister Gauhar Shad was the wife of Shah Rukh, was exiled once by Tamerlane and was one of the cause of the campaign against Bayazid who granted him protection, ultimately recovered the possession in A.H. 808 (1405) and three years later added to them those of Jalayar dynasty, defeating Ahmed the Ilkhanid and putting him to death. A later member of the dynasty Jahan Shah was a successful soldier who conquered Georgia to the north and Fars and Kerman to the south. He was preparing to invade Khorasan when a rebellion of his two sons who ruled Tabriz and Baghdad forced him to forego his designs, and shortly afterwards he was killed in a battle with Ak Quyunlu (white sheep). The blue mosque of Tabriz was founded by this monarch.

The Ak Quyunlu or white sheep dynasty known also from remote ancestor as Bayenderi was founded in the same year as that of their rivals the "black sheep" by a grant from Tamerlane of lands in Armenia and Mesopotamia. Their capital was Diarbekr, and the power was at first inferior to that of the rival tribes, with which a deadly feud existed. This originated in the action of Iskendar, who fleeing from Shah Rukh, had by chance seized Kara Osman, the grandfather of Uzun Hassan. He kept the chief in prison at Erzeroum, where he died, and sometimes afterwards he exhumed the corpse, struck off the head, and despatched it in triumph to the Sultan of Egypt.

Uzun Hassan after the overthrow of Shah Jehan, defeated his son Hassan Ali, whom he captured and put to death together with every member of his family, in revenge for this barbarous insult. As mentioned above, Abu Said invaded Adherbijan, and was taken prisoner by Uzun Hassan, who became the virtual ruler of Persia. He was succeeded by his son Yakub in 1478 and was poisoned after a reign of seven years. The empire was then broken up by domestic struggle for power, and way was made for coming native dynasty of Safvis.

Native dynasty again.

Ismail the founder of Safvi dynasty of Persia (A.H. 905-930 A.C. 1499-1426.) collected a small force in the province of Gilan and his first enterprise was the capture of Baku and Shamakha in Shirwan. His success aided him to increase his following to 16,000 men by whose aid he defeated Alamut or Alvand the prince of the Ak Kuyunlu dynasty. He then marched on Tabriz, which surrendered and was proclaimed Shah. In the following year Shah Ismail defeated and killed Murad brother of Alamut, in the neighbourhood of Hamdan. Alamut was subsequently handed over to victor by treachery and was killed by the hands of Ismail. His pretension to have been a descendant of the house of Aly brought the allegiance and support of Kizil Bashes or red heads—a name by which the Ustajlu, Shamlu, Takalu, Baharlu, Zulqadar, Kajar and Afshar tribes were honoured—all being the sworn upholders of Shia religion, whose ancestors taken prisoners by Timur at Diarbeks were released at the inter-

vention of Sadruddin son of Safiuddin, a Shia of Ardebil, the progenitor of Shah Ismail. These Turkish prisoners recovered their liberty, declared themselves the disciples of Shaykh of Ardebil. Their descendants emigrated by thousand to Gilan, and aided the family to found the dynasty. After annihilating the white sheep dynasty, Shah Ismail annexed Baghdad and Mosul. Later on he obtained possession of Diarbekr, and so successful was he that in a few years he had conquered the wide spreading empire of Aq Quyunlu. After securing his power in north-western and western Persia, Shah Ismail marched into Khorassan, which had fallen in the hands of Uzbeks. Shaybani Khan Uzbek was defeated, he himself was killed. He then came in conflict with the Turks under Sultan Selim, who captured Tabriz and annexed Diarbekr. Georgia was also annexed but this was recovered afterwards by Shah Ismail. Shah Ismail died in 1524 and was succeeded by Tahmasp (903-984). War with Turkey continued on and Solyman the magnificent recovered Baghdad and Mesopotamia. The intermittent fighting continued on until finally a temporary peace was patched. The dynasty reached its zenith under Shah Abbas 985-1038; (1587-1629) Whose roads, Carvansarai, public buildings, colleges, mosques and palaces still remind the glory and prosperity of his reign. Then it declined until its last weak monarch was captured by Mahmoud the Afghan when he overran Persia and occupied Isphahan in 1702. The Afghans remained in occupation of Persia till ousted by Nadir Shah Afshar the Napoleon of Persia who by his invincible army extended the dominion of Persia from

Tabriz to Delhi. On his assassination a short lived Zend dynasty was established at Shiraz to be replaced by Kajars in Iran and Abdali in Afghanistan. Abdalis were succeeded by Barakzais and Kajars by Pehlavis in Afghanistan and Persia in our present century.

Tajiks in India.

As a result of victories of Mohammad Ghorī over Prithvee Raj, Hansi and Sirsuti were annexed in 1192. Ajmer was left in the charge of late Raja as a vassal of the Sultan, and Kutubuddin Aibek, a slave of Mohammad Ghorī, was appointed Viceroy of India, where after his master's death he founded the kingdom of Delhi. There was, however, much to be done before there could be any talk of kingship. Delhi and Koil indeed fell before the attacks of Kutubuddin the same year, and after the crushing defeat on the Jumna between Chandwar and Etawah, the Rathors fled south to found a new principality of Marwar and Kannauj and Banaras became part of the empire of Ghor. The Muslims were now in Behar and it was not long before they found their way into Bengal, and at length in 1206 India had a Mohammadan king of its own. Aybek was the first of the thirty-four Muslim kings who ruled at Delhi from the beginning of the thirteenth century to the invasion of Babur in 1526. They are known in India as Pathan kings, but they were a mixed lot in which the Tajik blood predominated. Only Lodis and Suris could possibly be considered as purely Pathan dynasties. Most of them were Tajiks with Persian as their mother tongue and it remained the court language of India

until displaced by Urdu in the latter half of nineteenth century by the British. First came the slave kings, descendants from Aybek and the slaves of Mohummad Ghorî. Next followed Khaljis, then Tughlaqs or Karauna Turks. when Timur swept over India and ended their dominations. Their empire then broke into petty kingdoms of Jaunpore, Malwa, Gujerat, Khandesh, Sindh, Deccan under Bahmanis and Delhi and its environment in Doaba held first by Saiyed dynasty and then by Lodis. Balban, Alauddin, Feroz Tughlaq and Sikandar Lodi were great conquerors, empire builders, patrons of art and learning and built many works of public utility. All these mushroom kingdoms were then swept away by Babur who wrested India from the weak hands of Ibrahim Lodi on the battle field of Panipat and founded the empire of the Moghals.

Timurids in India.

From 1526 till 1707 the Timurids held complete sway and mastery in India. They built a magnificent and splendid empire, but after the death of Aurangzeb their political power declined and petty kingdoms arose some under the Muslims, some under the Hindus, one under the Sikh in Punjab and Kashmir. Oudh, Deccan and Bengal became independent under their Moghal governors, of which Deccan survived till our time, Bengal and Oudh were taken over by the British in 1757 and 1857. Sindh which was in occupation of Baluchi chiefs lost to British in 1840. Hyder Ali and his son Tipu Sultan who usurped the Hindu Kingdom of Mysore were in turn

evicted by the British. The Hindu states of Maharashtra, Gujerat, Rajasthan and the Sikh state of Punjab and Kashmir which Ranjeet Singh wrested from Abdalis eventually were all brought to the submission of the British.

Present day political conditions.

This whole continent with the exception of Ceylon was in occupation of Muslims one time or the other. For a short time the Pagan Mongols occupied Iran but very soon they themselves became Muslims. Sikhs and Marhatta's hold in the Muslim India was temporary and short lived, but when India was brought completely under the subjugation of the British, the political status of Muslims in India came to an end. They had then to share with their non-Muslim compatriots the same subjugation and humiliation which a ruling race imposes on the conquered under old international moral code. This was tempered, however, with good stewardship which brought peace, quiet, prosperity, opening of communication and a slow and gradual replacement of illiteracy and poverty. The loss of political rights though a deadly blow in the modern conception was not so severe as the despotic rules of kings in other parts of the continent whose idea of kingship was little changed since the creation of kingdoms. Compared to Persia and Afghanistan, Islam in India even made material progress. They multiplied ten times more than their neighbours and when the struggle of freedom started in all these countries, although ours came later than theirs, we remained less handicapped in the path of progress.

The revolution in Persia whereby the old order had given place to new is quite recent. Nasiruddin, although extremely fond of European tours did not encourage his subjects to follow his example, nor did he as a rule permit the sons of the Persian nobility to be educated abroad. Consequently European thoughts and ideas penetrated into Persia but little during his reign. During the reign of timid Muzaffaruddin fear of Shah weakened and respect diminished. External movements too, such as the defeat of Russia by Japan, reacted on the internal situation. Moreover the number of Persians who by reason of acquiring European language, posed as leaders of fellow countrymen increased enormously. Among them were a few well educated men, but the large majority were ignorant and intensely arrogant. Finally, the strong feelings against loans and the use to which their proceeds were put was intensified by retrograde policy and oppressive rule of Ainuddaulah. This combination of circumstances brought a popular movement for the dismissal of obnoxious minister, which according to Persian procedure took the form of sitting in Bast or sanctuary; and the demand for the constitution inspired by a few Persians with European education was gradually formulated.

The founder of the movement was certain Saiyed Jamaluddin. This remarkable man was the son of a village Saiyyid of no position and was born in 1838 near Hamdan. After being educated at Najaf, he resided for some years in Afghanistan and adopted the title of Afghan. He travelled and taught in India, in Egypt, and elsewhere, and at one time settled in Constantinople. There he

pretended to be a Sunni and gained fame as an eloquent and learned doctor of law. He was, however, accused of infidelity by the Shaykul Islam and obliged to leave the city.

His connection with Nasiruddin was brought about through the deep impression made upon the Shah by certain articles, which he wrote for the Arabic newspapers whose title may be translated "the indissoluble link". He was summoned to Persia and made a member of the Royal Council, and his opinion carried a great weight with the sovereign. This state of affairs naturally aroused the jealousy of Amin us Sultan, who induced the Ottoman ambassador to press for his deportation. Knowing that the word Law was obnoxious to the Shah, he stated that the Saiyyid had caused disturbance by advocating the adoption of fixed laws, and had been expelled from India, Egypt and Turkey. He gave it as his opinion that it would be dangerous to retain in Persia a man with revolutionary ideas. The Shah agreed and Jamaluddin was instructed to quit the country and travel.

He again met Nasiruddin in Europe during the monarch's third journey; and the Shah thinking him more dangerous abroad than in Persia, brought him back as honoured guest. Jamaluddin took advantage of his return to preach the revolutionary ideas, and they made such progress that a rising appeared eminent. The Shah wished to seize him, but he escaped and took sanctuary at Shah Abdul Azim. There he remained for seven months, fulminating against the Shah and advocating his deposition. Among his followers was Mirza Raza of Nuk, who

afterwards assassinated Nasiruddin. Jamaluddin was at-length arrested at his house which adjoined the sanctuary, and was again expelled from Persia in 1890. Handed over to Turkish authorities, the Siyyid was taken to Basra, where he was kept under observation. He managed, however to escape by steamer and joined Malkom Khan in London, where they edited the newspaper Qanun. Not long after the Sultan, alarmed at the influence gained by this journal, thought it desirable to invite Jamaluddin to revisit Constantinople, where he was treated as honoured guest but was not free to leave.

On the assassination of Nasiruddin, the extradition of Saiyyid was demanded together with the three other revolutionaries. The Sultan surrendered the three later men, and they were executed, but he refused to hand over Jamaluddin who shortly afterwards died.

Among the protagonists who attacked the old order was Malkom Khan whose career was extraordinarily varied. He was the son of a certain Yakub Khan, an Armenian who became a convert to Islam and first appeared at Tehran as a conjurer, whose feat of legerdemain excited wonder among the simple Persians. As would have been the case in medieval Europe, his skill offended the religious feeling, and the Shah who was displeased with him on other account, ordered him to leave Persia. Some years after, in the sixties, he reappeared in Tehran and founded a Masonic Lodge. The Faramosh Khana as it is termed, attracted the Persians strongly by its combination of novelty and mystery, and many members of the best families became initiated. Malkom Khan again created

suspicion in the mind of Shah and he was asked again to leave Persia. Nothing daunted, he secured the support of Mirza Hussein Khan, at that time Persian ambassador at Constantinople and through his influence was appointed Minister at London in 1872. While holding the appointment he was given the title of Prince. When Nasiruddin visited England in 1889, he granted Malkom Khan for practically a small gift a concession for a Persian lottery. The Minister sold it for a large sum and an English company was formed to work it. The Mullas, however, objected that these lotteries were a form of gambling, which is forbidden by the Quran. The Aminus Sultan took their part and tried to induce Malkom Khan to surrender the concession. The latter, however, pointed out that he had sold it and therefore could not do what was asked. The Aminus Sultan then sent an abusive telegram to Malcom Khan who replied in similar terms. He was thereupon dismissed from his post and became bitterly hostile to Aminus Sultan and in a lesser degree to Shah. Determined to take revenge, Mulkom Khan with the co-operation of Saiyyid Jamaluddin published the paper Qanun referred above. The influence of Qanun, which was written in excellent Persian, was considerable and roused Persia more than any previous writer had succeeded in doing.

In 1903, upon the dismissal for the second time of Asghar Ali, the Atabek Azam, by Muzaffaruddin, a council of five ministers was constituted to carry on the government; but very soon afterwards, Ayenuddaulah, the prince of the blood and son-in-law of the Shah, was appointed minister of Interior and assumed control of affairs. In

the following year he was given the title of Sadre Azam and continued in office until August 1906. Thus Ainudaulah was the minister under whose rule the constitution was brought about mainly by his stubborn character, His Highness calls for special notice.

As a youth he was educated in Tehran at a College which has been recently founded by Nasiruddin. There the professors apparently found him intractable; for they presented a petition to the Shah in which they stated that they had tried flogging, starvation and other punishment, all in vain, and requested His Majesty to remove the unpromising pupil. The Shah consented and sent the young prince to Tabriz to serve Muzafaruddin. He grew up with his new master, became his master of the horse, and was honoured by the hand of his daughter in marriage.

The movement which ended in the grant of constitution was at first merely a protest against the Ayenudaulah, who was held to be responsible for the unpopular loans, for the equally unpopular journeys of the Shah Muzaffaruddin and generally for the corrupt and oppressive government of the country.

The first actual movement was caused by the act of the governor of Tehran, who bastinadoed a respectable old merchant on the alleged charge of making a corner of sugar. By the way of protest against this act, a number of merchants took sanctuary at the Masjid e Shah, where they were joined by some of the chief Mullas. The Imam Juma, the official head of the mosque, was hostile to the agitation, and at the request of Ayenudaulah, he drove out the agitators with sticks. Instead of dispersing

they proceeded to the shrine of Shah Abdul Azeem, outside Tehran, where their numbers increased day by day. It is of considerable interest to note that Mohammad Ali Mirza contributed large sums for the support of agitators, with a view of securing the downfall of Ayenuddaulah. According to information supplied by a Persian friend, as soon as His Royal Highness heard of the movement, he sent for the Mullas of Tabriz and called upon them to support it. The partisans of the exiled Atabek e Azam also actively supported the agitation, and supplied it with funds. In vain the Shah sent a high official to induce the multitude to disperse. The favourite was received with marked hostility, and his mission was a failure. The pressure of the monarch became intolerable, and finally he yielded to popular demands, promising in an autograph letter to dismiss the obnoxious Ayenuddaulah and to convene an Adalat Khana, or the House of Justice. On receipt of this letter the leaders of the movement returned to Tehran in royal carriages; and the first phase was ended of the struggle in the promise to satisfy the popular demands. It is to be noted that as yet there was no demand for constitution.

In the spring of 1906 the Shah was approached by means of petitions which prayed His Majesty to give effect to promises contained in his letter. In the middle of May, however, he had a paralytic stroke, and the Ayenuddaulah who was all powerful decided to embark on the policy of repression. Saiyyid Jamal an eloquent preacher, who had also denounced Ayenuddaulah was seized. A mob collected, shots were fired and a student

who was a Saiyyid was killed; but the prisoners were rescued. The funeral of the victim of the soldiery was marked by further disturbance, which resulted in the death of fifteen persons. The Masjid e Jame was now the scene of a second Bast. On this occasion soldiers prevented supplies from being brought in, and agitators sought permission to retire to Kum which was granted on condition that the Mujatahids departed alone. On the way they issued notice threatening to leave Persia in a body unless the Shah fulfilled his promises. As their absence would stop all legal transactions, the threat was really a serious one, for it would be equivalent to placing the land under an interdict.

Simultaneously with the exodus of Kum, the second and still more important movement began. The Ayenuddaulah according to Persian custom, ordered the reopening of the bazaars which has been closed as protest, and announced that any shop which were left shut shall be looted. Thereupon a few representatives of the bankers and merchants visited British representative at Gohlak, the summer quarter of the legations, to enquire whether they would be driven out if they took sanctuary in the grounds of British legation at Tehran. The reply being given that force will not be used to expel them, a small number of merchants immediately took sanctuary and their numbers increased until there were at least twelve thousand men camped in the legation ground. Their demand was for the dismissal of Ayenuddaulah, the promulgation of the code of laws, and the recall of Kum exiles. The Shah again yielded. He dismissed the Ayenuddau-

lah, appointed the liberal Nasrullah Khan Mushirudaulah to be successor and invited the Mujtahids to return from Kum. But the people instigated by a few Europeanised Persians refused to be content and demanded a regular constitution to include the representative national assembly with guarantee of Shah's good faith. For a long time people refused to negotiate directly with the government but finally through the good offices of the British representative an amended rescript was drawn and accepted. But the reactionary party had not lost all hope. The Aenuddaulah suddenly reappeared and the Shah was persuaded not to sign the regulation for the assembly, but through the intervention of the Russians and the British it was signed. The constitution was snatched from the unwilling hands of the Shah, and soon after his death, his successor Mohammad Ali tried to undo it. Egged on the Czar of Russia who provided him with a Cossack regiment officered by the Russians, he tried to suppress the movement by dismissing the prime minister Nasirul Mulk and banning all the political societies. It was a very critical moment for Iran, for with the reaction of the Shah, the Russians and the British had divided Persia into northern and southern zones under their political influence and their active backing led the Shah to bombard the Parliament House on 23rd June 1908 demolishing the building and shooting indiscriminately every one suspected of the new regime. Encouraged by a movement in Turkey like their own, the people took very bold stand against the Shah and after ten months of struggle, the Mashruta (the Constitutionalist) re-entered Tehran,

deposed the Shah and placed his eleven years old son Ahmed Shah on the throne. Mohammad Ali Shah who took refuge in Russia after his deposition re-entered Iran with his brother Salaruddaulah. Due to his matrimonial alliance with the Kurdish chief, Salaruddaulah succeeded in capturing Kermanshah and Hamdan and occupying Persian Kurdistan. The Bakhtiari tribes in the south and the Turks in Tabriz under their leader Sattar Khan, however, succeeded in getting rid of them. The first world war brought Persia in the war zones and it became a battle ground for the armies of Turks, Russians and the British. The young Shah proved himself to be quite worthless. He idiotically left his country to her fate and chose to live a luxurious life in Paris. With the premature death in Paris shortly after his abdication, the Qachar dynasty of Iran came to an end. The new dynasty founded by Reza Shah Pehlevi brought some needed reforms, good roads were made in the wake of British army of occupation who had after the debacle of the Russians and the revolution there, found Persia a ripe plum to be snatched and wholly brought under British protectorate, a treaty to end the Persian independence was proposed but rejected by the Majlis and between the end of the first Great War and the beginning of the second Great War Persia got breathing time to live its own ideals. The Shah was still a despotic ruler but it was in his reign that the first Railway was built between Tehran and Meshhed and Tehran and Mohammerah linking Qazvin Kashan to be eventually joined on one side to Tabriz and on other to Yezd, Kirman and Ispahan. In the second world war

Persians suffered the same fate as in the first world war and its termination brought a regime under Shah Mohammad Reza Pehlevi who succeeded his abdicated father during the war. The government under the Prime Minister Dr. Mohammad Mossadeq took very bold step of cancelling the ninety years lease of Anglo-Iranian Oil Coy. with the sacrifice of millions of pound in royalties and hampering of the British in smoothly exporting the confiscated oil. The consequence of this was disastrous to the economy of Persia already too poor in its resources and the reactionary royalist party turned the table on Mossadeq, who was arrested and jailed, while by appointing a man of his choice as Prime Minister, General Zahedi, the Shah brought a new state of affairs whose future is yet to be seen.

In Afghanistan in the early nineteenth century, Akbar Khan the son of Dost Mohammad whom the British had deposed and replaced on the throne unpopular Shah Shuja, a derelict of the old Abdali dynasty, signally defeated the British at Gandamak and succeeded in placing his father of the Barakzai dynasty firmly on the throne of Afghanistan. In 1880, Amir Shere Ali had picked a quarrel with the British accusing them of letting down the Turks in the Russian Turkish War, showed his open hostility by refusing to receive the British envoy and honouring the Russian envoy instead. An expeditionary force was sent by the British which occupied Kabul and drove Shere Ali out of Afghanistan. The throne of Kabul was then offered to Amir Abdurrahman under their protection and guidance. Abdurrahman was a strong wise ruler, though cruel and despotic. He established the

government, introduced many reforms, opened factories, schools, Printing Presses and for twenty years brought peace and prosperity to a country always distracted by internal feuds and external invasions. He died in 1901, and was succeeded by Amir Habibullah his son, who carried on his father's reforms in administration. The steadfast loyalty to the British cost him his life in 1916, and it is rumoured that his own son Amanullah who succeeded him had a hand in the conspiracy. At that time Kabul was the hot bed of intrigue of all the revolutionaries of India and the anti-British elements among the Russians, Germans and the Turks.

Amanullah soon after his accession declared war against the British, gained some early quick victories but was at last forced to come to terms. The one good result of this peace treaty was the recognition of complete independence of Afghanistan by the British who had been subsidising the rulers on his keeping good behaviour and controlling the foreign relations and trades of Afghanistan. The impatient zeal of Amanullah towards modernisation of Afghanistan brought a revolution of fanatical elements under one Bachcha Saqqa (water carrier's son) instigated by the British which drove Amanullah out of the country. Bachcha Saqqa was proclaimed king under the title of Habeebullah only to be captured and hanged by General Nadir Khan who rushed from Paris where he was under medical treatment, and collecting a small force signally defeated him. Within a short time after his taking over the reins of the Government he fell a victim to an assassin's bullet and his son Zahir Shah now rules the country

wisely under the guidance of his elderly uncles. The reforms introduced by Amanullah are proceeding uninterrupted. A University and an Academy has been founded at Kabul, Press and Journals have multiplied, communications have been opened and all important towns have been linked with Motor roads, mining and irrigation are being taken seriously with the assistance of foreign experts and even a semblance of constitutional government is being experimented.

When Clive defeated Sirajuddaulah, the Nawab of Bengal and Behar on the battlefield of Plassey in 1757, India passed under the British rule who steadily and gradually replaced native rules by hook or crook over a greater part of the continent. Their position became secure and predominant and till 1857 for full one century the Directors of the East India Coy. ruled India in one of the most unique and amazing experiments of Government, where a bunch of English traders sitting in London ruled the vast territory of India through their governors and commanders, multiplying their dividends with the revenue of India, besides monopoly in trade. Their rule was just like the rule of a horse dealer who kept a stud for his horses and paid all attention to stabling the animals for the sake of deriving incomes for himself. The horses and stables must therefore be kept in good trim and health not for their own sake but for the sake of the owners, and the Indians had no more voice in the affairs of their country and government than a horse in his stable. The 'Nabobs' of East India Company with the idea of getting rich quick and shaking the dust off their feet from the damned country of

heathens as soon as they became rich enough to live for generations the life of rentiers, robbed the poor Indians for well nigh a century. If they employed Indians to assist them in administration they paid them less than their own domestic servants. It was no concern of the Company Government if the Indians starved physically and mentally or flagrantly robbed and kicked by their white masters. In 1857, Indians in desperation rose in arms against this bloody tyranny and thuggee by a handful of foreign shop-keeping exploiters, the old pensioned Moghal emperor was proclaimed the ruler of the country and under his personal lead the riff raffs of India ran amock and they only contributed in bringing back the hated British regime in new garb. The Company's enterprise was put to an end and India was proclaimed a part of British dominion with Queen Victoria as Empress of India. This was not on parallel to status of Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary. No, Queen's own white men replaced the Company's servants with the new label, a change from Tweedledum to Tweedledee. A secretary of state for India was appointed in the British Cabinet responsible to the British Parliament in place of the Board of Directors and the services in military and civil were manned by whitemen almost exclusively with princely salaries. It was not the rule of Queen Empress but of her own English subjects in India. This wretched Government called sarcastically as 'Maibap' Government in India, rubbed the educated Indians on wrong side and so galled their neck and insulted their dignity that a revolutionary movement started soon after over surface as well as under surface. The British position

through their own brazen haughtiness and insolence became so untenable that it was really a mercy to them and to us that they decided to quit India, before every educated Indian who was a potential revolutionary at heart had made a shamble of them by bombing, incendiarism, kidnapping and assassination. In fact, the British should thank Mahatma Gandhi as great saviour of theirs, for it was his influence alone that restrained young India from a just and lawful vendetta.

When the British were forced by circumstances beyond their power of control to grant India her independence after the world war II, Muslims in India played a most traitorous and shameless unpatriotic part. Dr. Sir Saiyyed Ahmed Khan, who after retiring from the judicial service of the U. P. in the late seventies had founded a college for the exclusive education of the Muslims at Aligarh, was obsessed with the idea that the Muslim "nation" living between devil and deep sea in India, that is to say, between the British and the Hindus, had to choose a course that will guarantee them safety. The general attitude of the Hindus towards Muslim was not at all encouraging, the Hindu leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, Balgangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai always talked India in the terms of Hindu polity, the caste-ridden Hindus had tabooed all social intercourse with the Muslims, on the other hand, after the British had settled down in calm reflection and their determination to force Muslims to Christianity to bury their fanaticism for good in future (started with Sir William Muir's literary crusade), proving futile, and the danger from Hindus growing acuter

daily by the inauguration of Indian National Congress, they so skilfully manoeuvred the Muslim public opinion by bribe and persuasion and giving them some flagrant preferential treatment that the Muslim League which came in existence in 1907 drew up its plan which in substance was antagonistic to Indian national aspiration but favouring the British hold on India till such time as Muslims had gained strength to fight for their rights with or against their countrymen. From the very beginning this league was the mouthpiece of British imperialism, and was manned by subsidised sycophants and Journalists, retired Govt. servants and Muslim princes of India. Such kind of association was soon discredited and discarded by self-respecting Muslim and when in 1920, Mahatma Gandhi stood up in protest against the brutal British massacre of Amritsar, the Muslim made a joint cause with him, though, it must be confessed on inter national and not internal patriotism. The British like every conqueror of the world in past could not be dissuaded from taking full measure of their revenge against Turkey the last hope of Muslim Indian and the seat of Khilaphate. However, that rapproachment soon came to an end. The Arya Samajist under Swami Shardhanand started reconverting Neo-Muslim Rajputs of Agra and Bharatpur, and at the other end of India Mapillas rising against the British on fanatical Khilaphate issue degenerated to the murder and loot of their peaceful Hindu neighbours. This sealed the fate of Hindu Muslim unity and the Muslim League again revived its nefarious and unpatriotic activities. A certain Shia Bohra, a barrister of Bombay named Mohammad Ali Jinnah who had

hitherto joined the national movement of Congress deserted it in a huff and by skilful knavery and oratory managed to get himself elected as the President of Muslim League with an aristocrat "old boy" of Aligarh University as Secretary. The Muslim League reacting became as vocal and disturbing element in Indian politics as so many other movements in India whose string was pulled by the British. Thanks to Arya Samaj folly and the activities of the revived Muslim League, the cleavage of Hindu Muslim was complete by the time the Simon Commission visited India to gauge how the political wind blows to warrant granting further concessions by instalment.

While the Indian Independence Act was yet on anvil and Sir Stafford Cripps came to India to parley on the future frame of the Government for India with a vague promise to restore to Indians their birthright on the termination of the Great War, or, at least, as soon as the menace of Japanese invasion of India actively backed by an Indian patriot, Subhas Chandra Bose is dispelled, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah as head of the Muslim League lost no time in introducing a resolution in its Lahore sitting on the partition of India between Hindus and Muslims. A crazy barrister of Amritsar was loudly thinking of an ideal state of Islam in India which he humorously or seriously dubbed as Pakistan and this Pakistan now became the slogan. The resolution was passed unanimously and not one thoughtful Muslim either had the courage to speak against this suicidal resolution or even reflected what it will mean to Muslims at large and in the long run. In the first instance, Muslims are living cheek

by jowls with Hindus in this country, there is no province in India where they are exclusive, naturally if there is to be created a Muslim India there must be a Hindu India five times as big and each such state will try to remove the last vestige of their opponents in their country, so it will be the Muslim who will suffer most. Then Muslims unlike Hindus are not a nation, they are born as well as made, and a community which is recruited from other nationalities cannot create artificially a nationality of its own. Mr. Jinnah, if he was not a fool, must have been laughing in his sleeve when he introduced this resolution, for he should have known that this kind of resolution was a straw for the drowning reactionaries and diehards of England led by Churchill and a deadly axe at Islam in India.

As if heaven had taken pity on our helplessness and misery, a miracle has occurred. Churchill and his conservatives lost election and their Imperialistic campaign went overboard, that wanted to perpetuate the thralldom of India with the help of the Muslims. The Labour Party under Attlee came in power and much as they tried to conceal their real stand by political expediency and hypocrisy they were honourable enough not to disregard wholly the Atlantic Charter of President Roosevelt whose one signatory was England too. Attlee sent Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy of India, by irony, the grandson of the Empress who took the government of India from the hands of East India Company. Neither he nor Attlee had either patience with the shilly-shallying of Jinnah and his gang, nor too low to play the trick of imperialist

game again. He cut the gordian knot by one blow and divided India between Hindus and Muslims. The forty million Muslims' fate in India was in jeopardy. They were facing same annihilation and forced emigration as the Hindus in Pakistan, but the same providence which brought Attlee at the helm of Government in England brought one of the most liberal minded and free thinking Indian, whose patriotic vision was never blurred by religious fanaticism or politicians' egotism, a son of the soil who shared all the persecution and indignity of a brutal power, withal a seasoned political philosopher, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in power. He knew no difference between Indian and Indian and considered, unlike Jinnah, religion as only private concern of an individual, saved the Muslim though he was not quite successful in warding off the general massacre of the Muslims in Amritsar, Ajmer and Delhi. Under his wise guidance India gave in her constitution the same rights of citizenship to Muslims as to other Indians of different creeds and our future has been guaranteed. We shudder at the prospect, if the rein of the Government of India had fallen in the hands of Hindu Maha Sabha, the counterpart of Muslim League. We could not have protested logically or even morally if they had only imitated our Muslim League in Pakistan and perhaps the history of Islam in India would have been the repetition of the history of Islam in Spain.

Pakistan the creation of Muslim folly and obstinacy is built on Islamic sentiment, a rickety foundation. While Hindu India has put an end to the feudalism and land-

lordism of aristocracy, drove religion out of state policy Pakistan dared not carry out that kind of social and political reform the most elementary requirements of democratic polity. Nationalities with different culture and language have been tucked together with a threadbare band of Islamic unity more effective on paper than in practice. Pakistan will sooner or later give way to a united federal government in north-west comprising Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Kashmir, Punjab and Sindh, perhaps under the dynasty of Afghan King (an echo of English and Scottish history after the death of Queen Elizabeth) and the East Bengal by all codes of nationality and rationality a part and parcel of West Bengal will one day be reunited along with Assam to form a self-governing independent state of its own where the proportion of Hindu Muslim by fifty fifty will give no opportunity to any fool or knave to raise the bogey of Islam or Hinduism in danger.

CHAPTER IV

THE RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Racial arrogance of the Arabs.

With the conquests and consolidation of Arab powers in Iran and adjoining countries and the gradual conversion of Ajemis (non-Arabs) to Islam, the social and religious conditions of natives or indigenous population was in ferment and developed on its own line different from the ruling race. These proselytes were looked down as Mawalis or clients of the Arabs with a status little better than the Zimmis (protected non-Muslims). The empire of the Arabs according to their conception was one vast jail or prison-house of which they were the wardens and the Mawalis and the Zimmis their prisoners, both paying capitation tax to the Government with the only difference that one was called Kharaj and the other Jiziah. Instead of promoting their language and culture which was different from the Arabs and translating the Quraan for their benefits, the Arabs actually suppressed their language and culture and superseded them with their own. Even when they settled down as rulers, they got the Persian classics and science translated into Arabic. For the first hundred years of the Arab rule, this process of Arabisation had gone unchecked and would have gone unchecked had not there arisen among the Arabs themselves

a disgruntled faction whose political ambitions were frustrated by the ruling dynasties every time they made an attempt to rise against the power that be. These are known in the history as Shiite or partisans of Ali. The Persians readily joined hands with this faction who later aided by the Abbasides a near kinsmen of the Alids succeeded in overthrowing the Khilaphate of the Omayyids. In the struggle for power the Abbasids gained the upper hand and the Alids having failed to achieve their political dreams, now resorted to subversive tactics and conspiracy against the political power of the Arabs, even against religion. As long as they did not obtain any political power they concealed their designs and ambitions under *Taqayyah* (openly adhering to Islam but secretly following their old cult), but as soon as power came to them under Daylmites, Obdaidities and Sufvids, they openly pronounced their Schism (political as well religious) and even forcibly imposed their idealism different from Islam on people in their control. For a brief survey of these religious and social movements in Persia, Afghanistan and India we will divide the history in three stages. The first stage was legalism and traditionalism feature of Islam which developed in Persia during Arab Khilaphate, beginning with Imam Abu Hanifa and ending with Imam Ghazzali. The second stage was Shiism beginning with Karamat and Hassan bin Sabbhah and ending with Bab and Bahauallah. The third stage was Sufism and mysticism which developed when Islam lost its political powers under Mongols, beginning with Bayezid Bustami and ending with Seikh Ahmed Sarhendi. These three stages some-

times overlap each other, but till our present era one or the other movement simultaneously or consecutively swayed the minds of non-Arab Muslims in their social and religious set up. They never took Quraan as their guide in their religion, all their reformation and revivalism was based on tradition which the Persians fabricated in the name of the Prophet.

Social regeneration.

Compared to other people of the world, the Muslims of this continent owe much of their social amenities and superiorities to Islam. The institution of public baths or Hammams was due to compulsory ablution and bathing enjoined by the religion before one's prayer finds acceptance to God. The books of their religion, Zend-Avesta, appointed prayers five times a day and when they became Muslim, in spite of the fact that the Quraan has only appointed three times they adhered to their old habits but each time they must clean their mouths with toothbrush, wash their hands, face and feet and take full bath in case of pollution by the emission of seed with or without sexual intercourse, made them cleanest of people. Then whatever be one's social status he must rub shoulder with the lowest of low in the mosque if he stands to offer his prayer in congregation. This brought the sense of equality in daily dealing. Unclean body and unclean clothes had got to be put away in prayer. Then the greatest evil of social exploitation was done away with by the mandatory forbidding of usury and gambling in any shape or form. In food and drink both unclean and in-

toxicants were tabooed which made them healthy and strong. Slavery though discouraged by the Quraan was for social and economic reasons not wholly banned but all stings of cruelty and ill-treatment were taken away by regulation, until the treatment of slaves became almost a parental benevolence and Muslim slaves were bestowed with the daughter of their masters, and endowed with kingdoms in Egypt and India. And most of the ruling dynasties had in their vein the blood of male or female slaves.

It is true, democracy found no place in the Islamic Government, who were as despotic as their contemporaries elsewhere, but their absolute power was curtailed by the injunction of the Quraan interpreted to them by Muftis and the consultation of them was made obligatory. Both Sultan Selim of Turkey and Alauddin Khilji of India were checked in their mad designs by the Muftis of their subjects. The Quraan has made no exception to the rulers to shed the blood at their own sweet will, and although our present judicial system was unknown to them, most of their murderous schemes were either checked in time or were openly condemned and caused their dethronement. To curb their vanity, they were not given any special pew when praying in congregation. They must stand along with the meanest of their subjects.

The one social evil with the Muslims was polygamy and seclusion of women. Undoubtedly the Muslims in the bad old days had exceeded the limitation and recommendations and this social evil has persisted to our day, because the converted Persians never looked to Quraan for their guidance. The Purdah was in vogue among

them before Islam was introduced and they remained affected by old usage, caring little to change their mode of life. Many of their festivals, for instance Nau Roz, Eid Ghadir, are national with new labels. Concealing of the face was never the injunction of the Quraan and no woman while performing the Hajj could put on her head a shroud. The practice of covering oneself in an unseenly Burqa in Persia, Afghanistan and India owes its origin to a mad man's whims—Al Hakim the Fatimid Khalif of Egypt who made the wearing of veil compulsory by women of his time, and since he swayed a spiritual power in Persia too, that became a permanent injunction throughout the Muslim world.

Polygamy was never a rule but exception though concubinage was commonly practised and the trafficking of women remained in effect out of the women captured in war, and this social evil persisted to our day. Here too, old usage rather than the Quraan was responsible, though it must be confessed that jurists did twist the wordings of the Quraan in matters of captured women to make this social evil a permanent feature in the Islamic society. Happily and thanks to the British this evil practice found no vogue among Indian Muslims.

Other social customs among the Muslim converts of this continent have their counterpart in the old usage. Like the Parsis, the Shia Muslims consider themselves polluted by the touch of dead body. The Shivratri of the Hindus is celebrated as Shubrat among Indian Muslims, the Shradh or feeding the dead is the same as funeral dinner of the Muslims with the same idea of

transmission of one's good deed to the dead man. In marriage, the wearing of nose ring in maidenhood which must be taken out by bridegroom's hand on consummation of marriage, putting marriage ring on the finger of bride by bridegroom, the betrothed to be concealed from the sight of every member of the husband's family until marriage, the payment of dowry by girl's father, all these are Hindu custom remaining among the Muslims. Till very recently widow remarriage and child marriage was the subject of dispute among the Indian Muslims. Where any Hindu custom found a similar practice among the Muslims, like Moondan and Aqicah, the Muslims despite of the fact that they are not enjoined by religion to do this, follow it avidly and zealously. Muslim women too would never be without glass bangles unless they are widowed.

The vogue of traditionalism and legalism.

In 80 A. H. there was born Noman bin Thabit at Kufa, from the tribe of Jats (called Zooti by the Arabs) that had their home in Kabul on the borders of India. He is known in the history as Abu Hanifa or father of Hanifs, a designation applied to early followers of the Prophet, that is to say, follower of the faith of Abraham before the designation was changed to Muslim in the Quraan. He lived in the time of last Omayyid and early Abbasides, having died in 150 A.H. He is the first non-Arab Muslim who elaborated the legislative portion of the Quraan and codified Islam for the use of Persians. He even allowed them to pray in Persian. Persians deprived of the benefit of the Quraan which remained in Arabic

found the Code of Abu Hanifa reduced to writing many years after his death sufficient for their religious needs. It was the time when the Arabs themselves felt the need of a comprehensive law within the framework of their religion for which Quraan was not found sufficient. A settled society and the Government must need it since a God-fearing Muslim like the Arabs newly initiated in Islam must have divine sanction for all their deeds, spiritual or secular. Zohri was commissioned by Omar bin Abdul Aziz to collect oral tradition of the Prophet in matters where the Quraan was silent. Zohri has himself confessed that he fabricated the traditions at the wish of his master, this set the ball rolling for the invention of tradition and the next two centuries saw its multiplication by the hands of Persians in incredible millions. They had a very convenient standard of distinguishing the spurious one from the genuine. No matter how stupid and childish and how unworthy for the Prophet to speak or act in that strain or manner be, as long as the chain of evidence is complete, it is to be taken as genuine! and when it is to be considered that traditions were committed to writings two centuries after the death of the Prophet, this oral chain reaching to Prophet by ten or twelve generations of dead persons, its futility and absurdity could well be imagined. But what a poor Persian Muslim should do, Quraan was a sealed book to him, and the early Muslims having widened the scope of religion to political and social matters, some such guide book has got to be relied on in a make believe way.

The first Persian was one Abu Abdullah Mohammad

bin Ismail ul Bokhari. He was born in Bokhara in 194 A.H. and died fifty years later out of his home having been expelled by the Governor of Bokhara. He is said to have conceived the idea of collecting traditions from a dream which he had. "I saw in a dream," he said, "the Prophet of God from whom I brushed away the flies. When I awoke I enquired of one skilled in interpretation of dream the meaning of the vision. He said you, shall keep lies from him". Thus encouraged Al Bokhari set out upon his search over Iraq, Arabia, Syria and Egypt. He collected during that period the enormous number of 6,00,000 traditions, of which he rejected all but 7,276. It is also related of him that of 40,000 men who professed to relate him the traditions of the Prophet, 2,000 of them were acknowledged by him as trustworthy. Bokhari's great collection known as Sahih Bokhari is perhaps the most popular of all extant collections of traditions. Yet there is no guarantee whatever that this man was more successful than others in separating the true from false. If it be remembered that Bokhari died in the middle of third century of the Hejira, how could he, we ask, or any other man after such a lapse of time, decide amongst the multitude of traditions as to which were the true one and which were false. Moreover the very canon of criticism adopted by Bokhari differed from those of Muslim, his celebrated disciple. Hence some traditions which would be considered as genuine according to the canon of one would be rejected as spurious if judged by the standard set up by other. The collection of Muslim bin Hajjaj who was born in Neshapoor in Khorassan in 204 A.H.

and died in 260 A.H. is considered of equal authority practically with the collection of Bokhari. Out of 3,00,000 traditions collected by this man, only some 4,000 after deleting repetitions were retained by him as genuine. Even these upon his own admission, are open to great suspicion. Thus his commentator An Nawai reported him as frankly admitting: "He placed in it many traditions about the truth of which people differed, by reason of the fact that they belong to the tradition of those whom we mentioned, and those we did not mention about the truth of these traditions people differed. Moreover it is known that Muslim relied mostly entirely upon the judgment of one man, Abu Zarah Al Razi, in his choice of traditions." Thus Maka bin Abdan said, I heard Muslim say, I referred this book of mine to Abu Zarah Al Razi. Thus everything which he indicated as faulty I abandoned, and everything which he said was authentic and faultless, I incorporated in my book.

Another famous collector of traditions was Abu Daud Assajastani. He was born in Seistan in 202 A.H. and died in 275 A.H. He, like Bokhari travelled over many countries in search of traditions, of which he collected not less than 5,00,000. But like his illustrious predecessor, he found an overwhelming proportion of the traditions pure fiction, and ultimately embodied some 4,800 in his Sunnah. Not all of these traditions, however, are above suspicion; for he himself has admitted the presence of doubtful traditions in his collection in the following words: "I have mentioned in it the authentic, those which seems to be so, and those which are really so."

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Ibne Majja another of the great collectors whose work is Kitabus Sunan is one of the six standard collections of traditions, was born in 209 A.H. and died in 333 A.H. He retained only 4,000 traditions in his collection which like those of Abu Daud, An Nisai, Tirmidhi deals almost exclusively with legal traditions. The collection of Muslim and Bokhari, cover much wider field and contain tradition on almost every conceivable subject, from the manner in which Prophet cleaned his teeth to the nature of heavenly bliss reserved for the faithful.

Another renowned traditionist was Abu Musa Mohammad Tirmidhi. He was born at Tirmidh, in 209 A.H. and died in 299 A.H. His book the Jamy is still largely used, and is specially useful as pointing out the difference between different schools of Mohammadan Law. He was the first to issue a selection of forty traditions, a practice which has been imitated by very many of his successors.

The sixth and last great collector was Abu Abdurrahman Nasai. This man was born at Nasa in Khorassan in the year 214 A.H. and died in 303 A.H. at the hands of a fanatical Syrian. His collection as it exists today is a revised and abbreviated edition of a larger work, and is called Sunnane Nasai or Al Mujtaba or selected. It deals particularly with small details of rituals.

These books of traditions became the chief guide to proselytes in Iran and in spite of the fact that not one tradition could be proved to reach the Prophet, they practically superseded the Quraan in the daily life of Persian Muslims. It is to be remarked that in Kufa and Merv

schools were established for the sole purpose of manufacturing traditions and one of them thus certifies the traditions of Bokhari. Abul Zaid ul Maroozi (that is of Merve) said, I was sleeping between the pillar and place of prayer when I saw the prophet of God in my dream. He said to me, O Abu Zaid, how long will you continue to study the book of As Shafai and not study my book?. So I said O prophet of God, and what is your book? He said the collection of Mohammad Ismail ul Bokhari, and talking of dream it should be recalled that a dream similar to dream of Al Bokhari is also imputed to Imam Abu Hanifa, only in his case it was not the brushing away the flies from the prophet of God but digging his very grave. And well might dreamers dream if that provide a little better ground for trusting these mass of tradition by credulous Persian Muslims.

Throughout the region of Seljuikides and the decline of Abbasides, Islam to the people of India and Persia was either the code of Abu Hanifa or this mass of traditions, and their peculiar Islam might aptly be called the Aryan Church of Islam. More traditionalists arose, some even in India like Imam Saghani who made a dictionary of Bokhari and Muslim, Baihaqi and Baghwi in Afghanistan in about 400 A.H. one fabricating more traditions and the other making an anthology of the current one. Finally when the philosopher Al Ghazzali turned his attention from scholastic dielecticism to orthodoxy, he managed a further collection of his own in his bulky tome Ahyaul Ulum. Little wonder that the Islam based on such foundation should soon give way to Soofism and Shiism,

the latter, rather experts in this art of fabrications, and it was they who were the pioneers in this field.

The Cult of Ali in Iran.

The cradle of Ali Cult was Irak and hence its early history is beyond the scope of this book. We will deal its origin and its activities culminating in the tragedy of Kerbela in our next book on Islam in Africa and the Near East that is to say, Irak, Syria and Arabia. Here we will deal only with the aspect when this cult fomented rebellion and unrest in the dominions of Khalifs in Persia and the neighbouring countries. These Shiites or the partisans of Ali, no doubt whipped by the persecution of Omayyids and Abbasides, were forced to take an attitude so bitter that even the established religion to which they themselves nominally belonged was made a target and denounced along with the social and political structure of the Arabs. They found in the people of Khorassan who took prominent part in upsetting the rule of the Omayyids and establishing that of the Abbasides a ready tool to help them in their designs. Their leaders who raised the standard of revolt in Iraq in the reign of Saffah and Mansur sent secret emissaries to Khorassan to incite the people to rise in rebellion against the Arabs and to kill all such persons in their midst whose mother tongue was Arabic. Happily they did not succeed in their nefarious designs politically, they were easily liquidated and their followers who went in hiding, took the easy course of secret conspiracy against all the tenets on which the civilisation and the religion of the Arabs was based. Their

secret' propaganda took shape in the spurious traditions extolling the family of Ali and denouncing their enemies. They set aside the Quraan which they called an invention of Khalif Usman the enemy of Ali, gave out that they are born from the daughter of luckless monarch of Iran Yezedgrid, and through them the old religion of Sassanind and their empire will be revived. The national spirit of neo Muslim Persians needed no such legend to wean them out of their loyalty to the Government and the religion of the Arabs. For them it was only a providence that their own cherished dream of overcoming the hated Arabs and their religions was being fulfilled by the assistance of the Arabs themselves. This opportunity was avowdly taken up by them in the movement of Karamathians in the province of Khuzistan.

The first missionary of this cult in the Khilaphate of Motazid was a certain Hamdan, surnamed Karamat, after whom the adherents of the doctrines were nicknamed Karamathians. At that time there was a rising of Zenj or Ahyssinians in Iraq and he offered to join the Zenj leader with one hundred thousand men, but they differed in their tenets and were unable to combine. Little seems to be known of Karamat's life but he fell by the hand of an assassin. Later, the sons of certain Zakariah and after capture and execution of Zakariah himself, became leaders of the sect and engaged in savage wars.

At the beginning of the fourth century of Hegira, Basra was stormed by Solyman, yet another fanatic, and afterwards Kufa, and the terrible anarchy culminated in the sack of Mecca in A.H. 317 (929 A.C.) and carrying

away of the black stone. After this the storm subsided and the sect was weakened by dissensions, but the recorded fact that in A.H. 396 (A.C. 985) Multan was governed by a Karmathians, show how far their power and influence reached. These sects, all of whom fought against the society constituted one of the darkest sides of Islam. Their doctrine continued to be preached in Persia.

Just before Seljuks stepped in the dynasty of Daylam who were Shiittes and held sway in Iran and it was left for the Seljuks and later to Mongols to contend with this heritage in the shape of Ismailis. The crusaders were brought into contact with the Syrian branch of the order and Raymond Count of Tripoli in A.C. 1149, and Conard of Montferrot titular king of Jerusalem in A.C. 1192, were among its more famous European victims. In 1272 the life of Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward I, was attempted at Acre, and according to tradition saved by his consort, who sucked the wounds.

The Ismailis known to Europeans under the name of Assassins played a large part on the stage of the Middle East during this period and the two succeeding centuries, and they became famous in Europe through the baleful activity of their Syrian branch. It is, therefore desirable to give some account of their tenets and operations at this period. The political importance of the sect began with the foundation of the so-called Fatimid Dynasty, which claimed descent from the Prophet's daughter, and the Ismailis, in consequence are often referred to Fatimi or Alawi (descendants of Ali). By their opponents they are termed Ismailis, Batini (Esoterics), Mulaheda (Here-

tics), this last word being Mulahet of Marco Polo.

The dynasty in question was brought into existence through a propaganda started in 206 A.H. (873 A.C.) by a certain Abdullah bin Maimunul Qaddah, an oculist of Ahwaz and a Persian by birth. This extraordinary man founded a secret society which was to bind together the Arabs and the Persians, Christians and the Jews, and indeed all mankind into a school which was to owe implicit obedience in himself and to serve a powerful instrument of his ambitions. As in case of Abbaside propaganda Dai or missionaries spread the peculiar doctrines which offered all things to all men—Mahdi to the Moslems, a Messiah to the Jews, a Paraclete for the Christians, philosophy to the wise and liberty to the foolish. There was an inner doctrine for the fully initiated which was, as Browne has put it, "philosophical and eclectic, borrowing much from old Iranian and Semetic system and something from Neo Platonist and Neo Pythagorian ideas. It was dominated throughout by the mystic number seven, their prophetic period and each of these seven great prophets was succeeded by seven Imams.

The task of the Dai was to arouse curiosity by asking questions such as "why God created the world in seven days? Why are the seven heavens and seven earths (climes), seven seas, and seven verses in the opening chapter of the Quraan? Among the subtle questions were the following," What in reality are the torments of hell? How can it be true that the skins of the damned will be changed into fresh skin which has not participated in their sin may be submitted to the tortures of the hell? After the

convert has been won, he was induced to take an oath of allegiance to the Dai as representing the Imam, and to pay the Imam's money.

The founder of the Fatimid dynasty (A.H. 279-1171) was the grandson of the Oculist. Taking the name of Abu Mohammad Obaidullah, he conquered a large portion of Northern Africa and made Mahdiya near modern Tunis, his capital. Sixty years later Egypt was added to the kingdom, and by the end of 10th Century A.C. the greater part of Syria including Jerusalem, was in the hands of Fatimid until famous Salahuddin, the Saladin of the Crusaders overthrew their kingdom in A.H. 567 (1171).

The most notorious personage of the dynasty thus founded was Hakim bi Amrillah who claimed the divine honours and possibly in imitation of the twelfth Imam disappeared from the earth or else assassinated. It is of interest to note that his adherents the Druzes, who derive their name from Al Druzi, Hakim's Vizier, survived to the present day in the picturesque sect in the Lebanon and Anti Lebanon.

Hassan bin Sabbah was the son of a native of Kufa and was born at Kum. Like his father he belonged to Asna Ashari sect of the Shiites, until he fell under the influence of Nasir Khusru the Hujjat or proof of Khorassan and other Fatimid Dais. He was advised to proceed to Egypt where he was received with honours; returning thence to Persia, he extended the Fatimid propaganda to Yezd, Kerman, and Tabaristan but avoided the city of Rei, whose governor, a son-in-law of Nizamul Mulk the Prime Minister of Malik Shah was under orders to seize

him. His next step was to capture the mountain fortress of Alamut in the Elburz range, close to the road which runs from Kazvin to Resht. This was accomplished in A.H. 483 and was followed by similar success in other parts of Persia, more especially in the province of Kohistan, where Tabbas, Tun, Kain Zuzan, Khur and Khush became centre of Ismaili power. Hassan Sabbah, having established his position broke off from the Ismailis of Egypt on the death of Fatimid Khalif Mustansir billh in A.H. 478 (1094) by spousing the cause of Nezar, the unsuccessful claimant, whose brother Mustaali succeeded to the throne of Cairo. Hassan Sabbah now reorganised the order, at the head of which he placed himself as the Grandmaster commonly termed Shaykhul Jebal or chief of the Mountain. Next in heirarchy came the grand prior of the districts or the Sees, with their staff of Dais. Below these superior grades were the companions and adherents and lastly the famous Fidais or devotees, whose fundamental disregard of life made the sect feared even by the most puissant monarch.

A graphic account of the initian of Fidais is given by Marco Polo who writing shortly after the capture of Alamut by Hulagu in A.C. 1252 says:—

“The Old Man has caused a certain valley between two mountains to be enclosed and had turned it into a garden, the largest and most beautiful that ever was seen, filled with every variety of fruit. And there were runnels flowing with wine, milk and honey and water; and numbers of the ladies and of the most beautiful damsels of the world. For the Old Man desired to make his people

believe that this was actually paradise. Now no man was allowed to enter the garden save those whom he intended to his Hashishin. Then he would introduce these into his garden, some four or six or ten at a time, having first made them drink a certain potion which cast them into deep sleep, and then causing them to be lifted and carried in. When, there they awoke and found themselves in a place so charming, they deemed it was paradise in very truth. So when the Old Man would have any prince slain, he would say to a youth: Go thou and slay so and so and when thou returnest my angels shall bear thee into paradise."

The potion was composed of *Cannis Indica*, or hemp, known as Hashish and this undoubtedly is the origin of the Assassin. The Fidais rarely survived their victims, and they gloried in martyrdom and attempted to execute their mission in the most open and dramatic manner. In deed, so certain of happiness after death were the followers of this sect that mother wept if their sons returned alive from a quest on which they had been sent by the Sheikh of the Mountains.

The founder Hassan bin Sabbah lived old age, having put to death both his own sons, appointed his colleague Kya Buzurg Umid to succeed him. The importance of the sect increased under this man and under his own son Mohammad who died in A.C. 1162, and was succeeded by his son Hassan. This somewhat extraordinary man disowned his own parentage and proclaimed himself descended of Fatimid Nazar. To further this ambition he convened an assembly in A.H. 559 (1164) and not only

proclaimed himself to be Imam but announced the abrogation of the letters of the Law in favour of its allegorical meaning. It is stated that the term Mulaheda or "Here-tics" were given to the sect owing to this new claim, and by this name they are still known in Khorassan. Hassan, after ruling for some years, was assassinated, and his son followed in his farther's footsteps. In A.C. 1210 Jallauddin succeeded to the inheritance and completely reversing the policy of the sect, declared himself Orthodox Muslim. He entered into friendly relation with Khalif Nasir and with the neighbouring Muslim princes and later on allied himself with the heroic Jelaluddin of Khiva; but he dreaded the power of Chengiz Khan to whom he despatched an embassy. In A.C. 1220 he died suddenly, probably by poison. His successor and the last Grand Master was a boy of nine by name Rukunuddin. In A.C. 1238 he despatched an embassy to Europe, and we read in Mathew Paris that it was treated coldly. An envoy visited the Court of Henry III of England to plead the cause of Ismailis, but the Bishop of Winchester probably expressed the public feeling in the words, "Let these dogs devour each other and be utterly wiped out and then we shall see, founded on their ruins the universal Catholic Church".

Hulagu was able to attack the Ismaili fortress in detail and as the Grand Master possessed no field army the sect was doomed. The storm broke first on Kaf and Tun, which were captured and entire population being massacred except a few beautiful girls. Rukunuddin in a fit of profound discouragement surrendered many of his other fortresses, and finally his fortress of Alamut near Kazvin

and his own person to the Mongols who thus eradicated the sect with utmost ease. In Khorassan and also in Kerman a few hundred of its followers still survive. Their leader was a Persian named Agha Khan Mahellati who migrated to India in about 1840. At that time the British were fighting with the Amirs of Sindh over the possession of that country and Agha Khan with his followers joined the British against them. In recognition of his services he was allowed to settle in Bombay presidency with a handsome pension. Later his descendant was raised to princely title of His Highness. The Ismailis made many converts from the Hindus, who belong to a prosperous commercial community called Bohras. In extreme west of Kashmir the rulers of Hunza and Gilgit too belong to that cult.

The cult of Ali of which the Ismailis are a branch believes in the incarnation of the light of God through Mohammad to the succeeding twelve Imams, and thus their present leader Mohammad Shah Agha Khan is more or less an incarnation of God, or God in human form, to whom his followers in India, the Khojas or Persian followers who migrated with him to India and the Bohras actually worship and lay at his feet all what they earn and what they beget. The doctrine of Imamatus is essentially a doctrine of the Ali cult and puts an end to all what Islam has taught them. The only difference between them and Ismailis is the difference in the number of Imams, the first seven being common to them. After the death of Ismail the Ismailis refused to recognise the one succeeding him as the other followers of the Ali Cult the

Asna Ashari had done. After the eleventh Imam the line again broke and the last twelfth who mysteriously disappeared in the cave of Samarra is believed to have followed on the footstep of Elijah and Jesus and will come back at the end of the world, as Mahdi. The interim period between his disappearance and reappearance is filled by Babs or gates, acting as his apostles and ambassadors who are supposed to be go between him and his followers. Such fantastic doctrines have created many pretenders both for the Mahdism and for the Babism, the curious thing is that some pretenders of Mahdism, like Mahdi of Sudan and Mirza Ghulam Ahmed of Quadian do not at all belong to Ali cult, but to Orthodox School of Islam, but Islamic Orthodoxy is itself mainly based on traditions in whose fabrications the cult of Ali had the main hand. The last pretender of Babism was Mohammad Ali, a native of Shiraz who flourished in the time of Nasiruddin Shah Qachar. Unfortunately for him the world had advanced too far in his time to make this claim tenable and unlike his forerunners, Abu Zararah and Ibne Babuyah who succeeded in carrying their missions so completely and thoroughly among the Shias as to make them an authority in their religion, poor Mohammad Ali Bab received a short shrift from the hands of the despotic Shah when suspected of instigating an assassin for his murder. Among his disciples was one Qurratul Ain (delight of the eye) a woman of enchanting beauty and a daughter of a priest. She was a poetess of great renown, but she too was not spared in the general clean up. Bahaullah who succeeded turned his attention to found

a distinctly new religion which has found some adherents even in America.

With the coming of Safvids in Iran, Asna Ashari brand of Shiism came above surface and from the secret cloisters of the Soofis it was brought to the Council Hall of the Kings. The Turks of Tabriz and Ardebil called the Qizil Bashes who brought the sufvis in power in Iran were the descendants of those Turks whom Timur made prisoners of war and who were released at the intercession of an ancestor of Shah Ismail, and consequently became converts to his cult, were the chief prop and support for their monarchy. Shiism now became the state religion and all their books which so far could not see the light of day were now published under royal authority. The power of the Safvid reached its zenith in the sixteenth century under Shah Abbas the Great and by the time Mahmoud the Afghan overthrew them, the cult of Ali was established on permanent and exclusive basis in Iran. The Legals and Soofis whose Islam was almost divorced from the precepts of the Quraan joined in mass under persuasion or duress and today with the exception of Kurdish tribes it is a national religion of Iran. Neither Mahmoud the Afghan nor Nadir Shah Afshar could suppress it and when the Qachars succeeded to the throne of Persia, being themselves of the old stock of Qizil Bash, the cult of Ali remained supreme without a rival.

From Persia it spread to India and at present count about a million souls in India and Pakistan. Some Persian Qizil Bashes came with the armies of Humayoun and some came with the army of Nadir Shah and settled down

in India. Some more adventurers arrived during the decadence of Moghal rule, who were made governors of provinces and councillors to the emperors. The Syeds of Baraha and the royal family of Oudh both Shias exerted their influence in enlarging their numbers. In the reign of Jehangir, his consort Nur Jehan, belonging to the Safvids of Iran brought some missionaries from Iran to introduce this cult. One Mulla Nurallah Shustari received his crown of martyrdom from the hands of Jehangir, because some Orthodox Mulla to whom he was pitched in a religious discourse made him utter blasphemous words against his spiritual guide Sheikh Selim Chishti. Attempts are being to reconvert them and Shah Abdul Aziz in the early eighteen century and Nawab Mohsinul Mulk (who had been himself a Shia) in the early nineteenth century wrote books for them to bring them to right paths. After them Moulvi Abdusshukoor of Lucknow who is an editor of a religious monthly Magazine has devoted much energy in their conversion. The result is not very promising, still enlightenment has started in both Persia and India, and now the Shias generally make apologies for their Islam and profess it outwardly. The late Mohammad Ali Jinnah was himself a Shia, but no one has been better champion of the cause of Islam in India and it is to his stalwart advocacy, wrongly or rightly, that we owe Pakistan.

Soofism and mysticism.

With the suppression and dispersion of Ismailis by Mongols and the loss of all political powers by them the

Ismailis took the natural course so congenial to them and for which they were well seasoned and well renowned. They now masqueraded as Soofis and mystics and by their hypocritic piety took such a hold upon the imagination of ignorant mass that most of them were actually canonised as saints of Islam able to obtain salvation for Muslims while lying in their grave, if they are approached properly with presents and supplications and soon converted their shrines into a temple of idolatry. These Soofis believed in no personal God like the Muslims and held the same views as the Hindu pantheists. Most of them transferred their activities to India, where the Ismailis had their stronghold in Multan. From Multan they spread to Ajmere and Lahore and at one time the saint worship became almost general. Naturally, besides the Muslims many Hindus were drawn in their fold, as they always took care to speak their doctrines in the terms of current Hindu thoughts. Most of the renowned saints and Soofis of Islam like Ibn Arabi, Hallaj, Bayezid Bustami, could hardly be called orthodox or even pious Muslim if judged from the extant writings they have left or what is alleged to have been written by them. Khwaja Moinuddeen Chishti born in Sajistan in 537 A.H. whose shrine in Ajmere draws millions of people annually was Shia secretly if not openly, even his apologists conceded that he preferred Ali to other rightly guided Khalifas in the succession of Prophet by order of merit.

The constitution of the orders of these Soofis or Mystics and their organization is practically the same as that of the Ismailis. The head of the order is spiritual heir of

founder—in other words he is chosen by the brotherhood. He is the grandmaster and has the unlimited power. He is also, as a rule a man of considerable diplomatic skill whose influence often extended beyond the limits of his order. Although themselves utterly uneducated and ignorant from all standards of Islamic learning, they are supposed to have a perfect knowledge of the sacred law, to possess skill in dealing with those who place themselves under his guidance. He is looked up to with the greatest veneration; in fact absolute obedience to the Sheikh is the very essence of the system. “O my master, you have taught me that you are God,” says the disciple. The founder of the Bustamiah order said, “Glory be to me! I am above all things.” The adoration of the Master too often takes the place of the worship of God, and the ideal life of a Darvesh which is in absolute conformity to the will of the Sheikh. In every word and in every act the disciple must keep the master present in his mind. All these are the echoes of Ismaili cult. The highest rank of all is Ghaus, a man who, to the super abundance of his sanctity and the influence of his merits is able to be the sin bearer of the faithful, without in the least endangering his own salvation. He is, therefore, often called Ghau-sul Azam, or the great refuge—a rank blasphemy. Then come the men of the next rank who are called Qutub or axis. This title seems to imply that this saint is the centre of influence, round which all the greatness and the real grandeur of the world revolves. He has attained to such a degree of sanctity that he reflects to the general body of believers the heart of the Prophet himself. He is the

recipient of the special favour of God, by whom all the affairs of the lower and higher worlds are entrusted to him. He has certain favourite station where he appears, such as the roof of Kaaba in Mecca. On his right and left there are two persons called the Umna or trustees. When Qutub dies, the amin on the left hand succeeds him and the amin of the right side passes over the left, and his place is then taken by one of the Autads. It is believed that the Qutub can in a moment of time transfer himself from place to place; and he usually wanders about the world; awarding good or evil, as the destiny of the recipient may be, through the agencies of Walis, or saints subordinate to himself.

Several orders were founded by these Soofis. Mostly they are spread in the Near East and Africa. The Qadiriya order founded by Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, a Persian by birth and follower of Imam Hanbal by persuasion. His own sphere of activity was mostly limited to Baghdad and its environment and he obtained no great publicity during his lifetime and even two centuries after his death, but is mysteriously spread eastward and westward afterwards. It is doubtful whether he had any connection with the Ismailis though as a Persian he may be suspected as such, but the way he was apotheosied by his followers which is a rank polytheism, it is possible some Batini designers taking advantage of his reputation among the orthodox (he is the author of several books of homilies of a low and superstitious type with the fundamentalism of the Wahabi sect whom God is as much human as Jehovah is to Jews) have exploited him for their own

commercial and financial end. Most of the ignorant Muslims in India without counting themselves in his order pay the same homage to him as to God Almighty. Suharwardiyah order was founded by Shahabuddin Suharwari who died in Persia in A.H. 625 (A.C. 1225). The majority of his followers are still found in Persia and Afghanistan, but his influence has been felt in India as well. The teaching of Suharwardiyah was highly mystical and deal with the deeper aspect of Sufism. Now it is not so much an order as a school of mystic philosophy which had a great influence on the teaching of the many of the mystic orders and fosters the growth of fatalism among them. The Chishtiyah order was founded by Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti as already referred in 537 (1142) A.H. He died in Ajmer in India. He was said to be a disciple of Sheikh Usman Haruni. The members of this order are mostly Shias. They are fond of music and dancing. The Naqshbandiyah order was founded by Mohamad Bahauddin Naqshbandi who died in Persia in A.H. 719 (A.C. 1319). He was a man of learning and piety and a sufi. At first he did not wish so much as to form an order as to gather together an association of religious people who might meet for prayer without much outward show or religious rites. He held that the exterior is for this world, the interior for God, but the association grew into a very large and important order which is found chiefly in Central Asia and in Turkey, but is little known in Africa. The Qalandariyah order was founded by a Spanish convert, Ali Yusuf Qalandari. He was the disciple of Jalaluddin Rumi and of Haji Bektash and was also for

a while member of Chishtiyah order which he afterwards left and founded an order of his own. He travelled much and finally settled down at Panipat where pilgrimage are made to his tomb. The statutes of the order obliges the member to live on charity, to be always on the move and not to amass wealth for themselves. They are practically the Islamic edition of Christian friars of Spain and might have been imitated by the founder or intentionally re-introduced his old order in Islamic garb. Their Dhikr contains a prayer for the founder and certain passages from the Quraan repeated many times and concluded with Darud, a prayer for the blessing for Mohammad and his family which is said twice. As Qalandars are mentioned in one of the tales of the Arabian Nights, their existence is proved as wandering Dervishes in the middle of fourteenth century when the tales of the Arabian Nights were mostly composed. They shaved all their hair on head and face including eyebrows. They are also referred in Persian literatures. Other orders find no vogue in this continent, neither any of the orders mentioned here exist now in organised form. The only thing left is their worship as saints among ignorant Indian Muslims.

Reaction against Saint Worship in India.

The popular Islam of India and Afghanistan is a curious mixture of orthodoxy and saint worship going side by side. In Sheikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlavi who flourished in the seventeenth century we find him on one hand, a commentator of the books of tradition followed generally by the orthodox and on the other hand, promo-

ting saint worship by writing the legendary biographies of saints with emphasis on their supernatural powers and equal if not greater to the attributes of Almighty God. It was probably due to his writings and his commentaries on the homilies of Sheikh Abdul Qadir to whom he has imputed many miraculous happenings that Indian Muslims pay so great homage to all saints in general and to Sheikh Abdul Qadir and Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti in particular. A rival of Sheikh Abdul Haq was Sheikh Ahmed Sarhendi who flourished in the reign of Jehangir. Though each has ignored the other in his writings, both wrote in the same strain mixing the superstitions and saint worship with orthodoxy. Only Sheikh Ahmed Sarheni egoistically concentrated the cult of saint worship in his own exclusive person by calling and assuming himself as Mujaddid Alph Sani. Both wielded extraordinary influence on the minds of Indian and Afghan Muslims till late in the seventeenth century when the traditionist Shah Waliullah and his son Shah Abdul Aziz brought a reaction against both Shiism and Sufism. A nephew of Shah Abdul Aziz, Shah Ismail the martyr, with his able lieutenant Saiyed Ahmed Brelvi exerted in the direction of purifying Indian Islam from the dross of saint worship. Both were killed while leading their followers, mostly Afghans (who treacherously betrayed them) in the battle against Sikhs, but the school they founded succeeded in raising a generation of Indian Muslims who began to look Islam from the angle of wisdom and free thought. Orthodoxy in Islam was another name of Traditionalism which started early in Persia, and this was revived in India

through the writings of the Delhi School led by Shah Waliullah. In India the traditionalism is sharply divided between two schools of thought one who consider the interpretation of Mujtahids particularly of Imam Abu Hanifa to whose school most of the Indian and Afghans belong as final. They are known as Muqallidin, while others who are called Gair Muqallidin find in the conflicting traditions handed down from the Prophet (orally for two centuries) an easy way of interpretation of their daily religious problems without the aid of Abu Hanifa. Their mutual wrangling and bickering over trivial matters of ritual sometimes provide a good amusement and new generation of Muslims who have studied in the Universities have dubbed them as Mullas and their doctrines as Mullaism. The revolt against Mullaism began with the writings of Dr. Sir Syed Ahmed, the founder of the Aligarh Muslim University. In his polemical writings mainly directed against Sir William Muir, he sought to bring the modernism of Europe into Islam and even outdone the rationalists by writing a commentary of the Quraan where he sought to explain away all supernatural happenings mentioned therein. Fortunately for him and his aims Neo Islam was taken up by some of the greatest thinkers, of his time, Shibli Nomani, Dr. Nazeer Ahmed, Moulvi Chiragh Ali, Nawab Mohsinul Mulk who had joined him in the Aligarh movement. Being themselves masters of Arabic and theology, a Mulla could not denounce them as ignorant of Islamic knowledge and their writings in which they only differed from Sir Saiyyid in matters of supernaturalism, Islam of Aligarh School is now followed practically

by all English educated Muslims of India.

Back to Quraan Movement.

Side by side with the Neo Islam of India grew up a school of thought who found in the tradition, a mass of conflicting idle tales, some definitely unworthy for a prophet to speak or act and as their authenticity was always questioned on rational or logical grounds, all that was redundant besides the Quraan for religion and spiritual guidance had been rejected *in toto*, and no use of any tradition was to be made in religious matters. One Abdullah of Chakrawal in Punjab is said to be the first person who started this movement, though in his enthusiasm he went so far as to do away with the Sunnah (public acts of worship as set in example by the Prophet) and made ridiculous imaginary ordinances to regulate the daily acts of worship which he deduced from the Quraan. Moulvi Ahmed Deen of Amritsar the next leading man of this school bungled like Chakralwi in interpreting the Quraan which was on the same line as the commentary of Dr. Sir Saiyyed Ahmed. With such wrong line, the movement made little or no progress beyond a limited circle of independent thinkers, among whom the noted persons are Moulvi Aslam Jairajpuri a professor of Jamaia Millia Delhi and Moulana Tamanna Imadi professor of Dacca University in Pakistan.

Another movement was of Qadianis in Punjab. Mirza Ghulam Ahmed Qadiani was more or less a counter part of medieval Sheikh Ahmed Sarhendi, both suffering from religious mania or hallucination to the extent of

claiming themselves as Messiah, Mahdi and Mujaddid and both hailing from the same part of Punjab, but otherwise great champions of Islam who were not content with their own salvation but salvation of both Muslims and non-Muslims throughout the world, as certainly benefits a Mahdi and a Mujaddid. The disciples of Mirza had carried the light of Islam in the dark countries of Christian and Pagans and one of the Mirza's disciples the late Khwaja Kamaluddin was the founder of Woking Mission and the Islamic Review published from England. Through the effort of this man alone thousands of English men, some leading politicians and literary men were converted to Islam. Mirza Ghulam Ahmed beyond claiming himself a Mahdi which of course is based on a foolish imagination and spurious traditions invented by Shias and in effect quite a harmless doctrine, did not introduce any new doctrine in Islam, rather, he was more zealous Muslim traditionalist than the ordinary one. But although Traditions still remained the supreme canon of Islam, the old legalism with respect to many medieval practices of Islam has been forgotten by new generation and abandoned both in India and abroad.

Two new movements have recently started and since the partition of India now mainly confined to Pakistan. The first is Jamaat Islami founded by Abul Aala Maududi, and the other Khakasar by Mashriqi. These movements which sent a wave of enthusiasm among the young men and many enrolled themselves for the service of Islam as designed by them came in serious conflict with the Pakistan authorities by dabbling too much in politics with the

result that both founders were clapped in Jail and whatever they started is now withering away. The literature of both these movement is more for sharpening fanaticism than a peaceful and sober interpretation of Islam. Maududi was writing a commentary of the Quraan which judged from the extracts published so far, promises to be a good one but he breaks no new ground, as the Khaksar Mashraqi has done whose book Tazkira is a curious mixture of sense and nonsense. A sort of Islam of his conception with many curious ideas never heard before.

Of the recent missionary activities of Islam that is a subject which has no place here. To append Dr. Arnold's thesis is not necessary as the missionary activities of Indian Muslims (apart from Woking Mission) is too slight to be taken into account. Only a mention should be made of Abbas Manzil Library Allahabad which has been propagating Islam since 1854 by means of literature, previously in Urdu, now in both Urdu and English. This may be compared on small scale to Christian Literary and Bible Society of England, and though always ambitious to compete with that organization, it is as the Urdu saying is, "Hanoz Dilli Door" or as an Irishman would say, "It is a long long way to Tipperary". Paradoxically it came into existence by the impetus given by a Christian Missionary of Allahabad, Dr. Pfander and his associate Dr. Sprenger and Sir William Muir (who at the same time was the governor of the province with almost despotic power). In reply to Dr. Pfander's Mizan ul Haq, Moulvi Rahmatullah Kairanwi wrote two books, Eijaz Eisawai and Izharul Haq. They were published by the founder of this library

and he was condemned to death for this sin in absentia when Mutiny broke out in 1857. Later he was reprieved by the proclamation of Queen Victoria but the library and publishing house was confiscated until bought back from the Hindu Banker who purchased it. The rest of the history of this library will be found in the Editor's note at the end of the fourth book of Islamic series—Mohammad in the Hadess under caption "Mainly about ourselves." The library is self supporting meaning thereby that its Reserve fund brings sufficient income in investment to enable it to carry on the work indefinitely and its "*Trusts*" trust God alone in its future programme.

CHAPTER V

ECONOMICAL CONDITIONS

Means of livelihood have changed with the change of time, what would look a high standard of living in Medieval time would only mean a low standard of living in our time. Industrialisation has gone apace and what a king would not dream few centuries back would be the ordinary possession of a common man of middle class. A picture of the economical life in the past can only be drawn from the inference of the observations of foreign travellers in these countries, beginning with Benjamin Tuedla, Marco Polo, Ibne Batutah, Abdurrazzak and ending with Portuguese, French, and British observers in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. India fortunately possesses besides the notes of these travellers, a comprehensive economical guide of the sixteenth century in the shape of the institutes of Akbar compiled by Abul Fadhl the Prime Minister of Emperor Akbar of which Mr. Moreland and a few English scholars of Persians and economics have taken full advantage in drawing up the material for their thesis. "India at the death of Akbar" and Irvine's "Revenue Resources of the Moghal Empire" are admirable and monumental contributions to the economic life of India some three hundred years back. To resuscitate these books from the graveyards of library where they are buried—

they have lost all hope of reprint, or resurrection, would be as difficult as to draw afresh the picture on their lines and that too by a novice in economics.

Before we proceed further dabbling in this subject, we cannot help taking notice of a strange phenomenon in the life of the people of this continent. Persia and Afghanistan are almost unproductive and barren countries and support a very thin population in comparison to their area, and yet the people of these countries have always been well fed, virile, healthy and wealthy, while on the other hand, India the most fertile and productive country compared to these, if we believe these foreign observers whose observation is supported by the observation of Emperor Babur, were a people always remaining on the verge of starvation and nakedness, they had never known how to sew cloth, to clothe themselves and conceal their indecency both in male and in female, never known the luxuries of shoes, their famished body telling their tale of famine and starvation, and the houses in which they lived a dog would not care to stay. What was the secret in this strange phenomenon of scarcity in plenty. Was it due to climate which made people indolent and lazy and that affected their economics. Here we give the picture of the people of India as drawn by Moreland in his book, "India at the Death of Akbar."

"We must now turn to consider the life of the masses of the people, the peasants, the artisans, the labourers. I know of nothing of approaching to a contemporary account of their mode of living; all that we possess is a series of glimpses, furnished mostly by the record of foreign

observer, who note facts that appeared to them of interest, and, as has been said before, the value of these occasional observations, depends largely on their congruence. The fact that a certain person observed a certain phenomenon in one part of India at a certain time has by itself little general significance; but when we find men of different tastes and pursuits describing substantially the same phenomena, now here and now there, over a period of upwards of a century, each observation in turn contributed something towards the proof of the accuracy of the whole, we are justified in combining the different items into something approaching to the complete picture which the writers of the period omitted to provide. One set of facts indeed comes to us from the Indians as well as foreign sources—liability of the whole country excluding Bengal, to recurring periods of famine, with heavy mortality, enslavement of children and cannibalism as its normal accompaniment; these facts are quite certain, and the dread of such calamity must always have been present to the minds of the people, but they form the background of the picture rather than the picture itself. Cannibalism was the normal feature of a famine, but famine itself was exceptional rather than a normal characteristic of the country and the period, and for our present purpose its importance lies in the evidence which it furnishes that the mass of people had no economical reserve. Early in the sixteenth century Barbossa wrote of Caromandal Coast, that although the country was very abundantly provided yet the rain failed, famine caused heavy mortality, and children were sold for less than a rupee; the writer goes on

to tell how in such seasons, the Malabar ships brought food to the hungry and returned laden with slaves which had been obtained in exchange.

A generation later, Correa tells of depopulation and cannibalism on the same coast; a decade after Correa, Badaoni records similar scene near Agra and Delhi; Caesar Fredrick describes the sale of children in Gujrat about 1560; Linschoten when living in Goa saw children brought to be sold and adults seeking to be enslaved; towards the end of the century it was again the turn of northern India, and accumulation of evidence shows that the people were dependent on the season for their subsistence, and that a failure of rains resulted in the immediate economical collapse. The background of the picture is thus easily grasped.

When we look to the evidence of normal rather than exceptional conditions, we may begin with the earliest of the writers who can be fairly called modern, Italian Conti and the Russian monk Nikitin. Conti has nothing to say about the common people, though he gave the enthusiastic account of the splendour of the upper classes. Nitikin who travelled in the parts of Deccan and Vijayanagar early in the fifteenth century says (if the translation of his narrative be trusted) "the land is overstocked with people, but those in the country are very miserable, while the nobles are extremely opulent and delight in luxury. The latter statement agrees with what we have found was in the case in the time of Akbar, and the former need not excite surprise. Our next authority is Barbosa who wrote in the beginning of the sixteenth century. He was struck

with the poverty existing on Malabar Coast, since he insists on the inferiority of the rice shipped for the use of common people, and he mentions that some of the lower classes in the region were very poor, one bringing wood and grass for sale in the city, others living on roots and wild fruits, covering themselves with leaves and eating flesh of wild animals; it is clear, therefore, that extreme poverty existed in Malabar, but we are not told the extent to which it prevailed. A similar impression is given by Varthema, whose experience was practically with the Barbosa, he wrote that at one place on the Malabar Coast its people lived very miserably, he comments on the inferiority of house accommodation at Calicut and elsewhere, valued houses at half a ducat each, and one or two ducats at most. While regarding Vijyanagar he remarks that the common people go naked with the exception of a piece of cloth about their middle. The facts are relevant, and he says, nothing to suggest that he was anywhere struck by the prosperity of the common people, while in most of the places described he passes over the subject in silence.

About a quarter of century after Varthema and Barbosa we come to Paes and Muniz, the Portuguese chroniclers of Vijyanagar. Their evidence may be stated in the words of Mr. Sewell, who after quoting Muniz description of the revenue system, says, "This statement coming as it does from a totally external source, strongly support the view often held that the ryots of south India were grievously oppressed by the nobles when subject to Hindoo Government. Other passages in both these chronicles,

each of which was written quite independently of other, confirm the assertion here made as to the mass of the people being ground down and living in the greatest poverty and distress. The evidence is important, because it relates to the period when Vijaynagram was at the height of its prosperity, and points to the condition prevailing over an area nearly as large as the modern presidency of Madras.

The next witness is Linschoten, whose observations deal with condition on west coast between 1580 and 1590. We give precise detail of the power of "common" Indians living in Goa, while of the country people his account is even less favourable; they live very poorly, go naked, are so miserable that for a penny they would endure to be whipped, and they eat so little that it seems they live by air; they are likewise most of them small and weak of limbs. After Linschoten we come to the incidental observation of the first English travellers. Hawkins who spent some time at the Court of Agra about the year 1610 attributed to the lawlessness prevailing over large parts of empire to the oppressions practised by the country people, who were racked by the grantees, hurrying to get money before their grants passed to the other hands. Salbank, writing of thickly populated country between Agra and Lahore, observed that some of the Moghal subjects "are said to be very wealthy, such as I mean as derive estates from him; but the plebian sort is so poor that the greatest part of them go naked." Jourdain, who had seen the country between Surat and Agra, summed up his experience a little later in the aphorism that Indians

lived as the fishes in the sea—the great ones ate up the little. A few years later, Sir Thomas Roe stated the same idea in more detail: "People of India live as fishes in Sea—the great one eat up the little. For the first the farmer robs the peasant, the gentleman robs the farmer, the greatest robs the lesser, and the king robs all". Such remarks as these the casual observations of men of affairs to whom the condition of the people was a matter of no immediate concern, threw definite though narrow rays of light on the subject with which we are concerned, and we may add the summary of what the English merchants were able to learn of the possibilities of Bengal as the seat of trade; they were told that the market was limited of whom there were few, and that most of the inhabitants were very poor. Pyrard has summed up his observations of life on the west coast, recording that the common people throughout all these countries are much despised, vile and abject beings, just like slaves", while about the year 1624, della Valle gave incidentally a similar glimpse of Surat, which was then benefitting from nearest development of foreign trade. He explains a large establishment kept almost by everybody by pointing out that the people are numerous wages are very low, and slaves cost practically nothing. A few years later de Laet summarised the information he had collected from English, Dutch, Portugese sources regarding the Moghal Empire as a whole, in what is the nearest approach to a systematic description that has survived. The condition of the common people in these regions is extremely miserable, wages are low, workmen get one regular meal a day; the houses are wretched

and practically unfurnished, and people have not sufficient covering to keep warm in winter. It would be going beyond our period to quote the various later travellers who recounted similar observations, but it is important to note that before the end of seventeenth century the poverty of the people had become so notorious in England that it could be employed as argument in current political controversy.

Of course this was the condition of the lower classes who were generally Hindus. Middle class people specially Mohammadans were exceptions. Barbosa says of the Mohamedans settled in Calicut that they went all dressed, had large houses and many servants, and they were luxurious in eating and drinking, and sleeping, though he adds that their position had greatly deteriorated since the Portuguese came to India. The same writer says that the Moslems living in Rander were well dressed, and had good houses, well kept and furnished. A century later, Della Valle commented on the freedom of life at Surat, where he was told that there was no risk in splendour or the appearance of riches, and observed, "that generally all live after a genteel way", a phrase which must be interpreted in the light of writers own position as a gentleman of culture and refinement. The exceptional condition of the coast is probably to be explained by the privileged status of the Muslim merchants and by their importance for the maintenance of custom revenue, and the supply of rare commodities; being free to live well, they acted in accordance to their inclination, while the merchants of the interior were very far from being free,

and led the quiet and ostentatious life required by the circumstances of their position.

So the economic condition of the people depends also on the way they are governed. Even in modern times, we have found in India the lower classes living exactly as has been described by foreign observers centuries ago. While the middle class had grown prosperous and rich by encouragement they obtained from the ruling powers who naturally patronised their own kith and kin of faith than the aliens. The case in point is of Kashmir. Here the Muslim population is in the majority of about 90 per cent, and most of them are very skilful artisans, economically they are worse than any people in the world. In 1943, when I visited the valley of Kashmir, I found all well dressed men in bazaar and parks, Hindoos or Sikhs and every tattered beggar a Muslim barring few old merchants. Muslims have prospered under British rule, and in the port towns of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, their share in trade and industry is more than their numbers, but inland under feudal chiefs, whether Hindoo or Mohamadan Indians are extremely poor and miserable. And where a Hindoo Banya finances the poor with usury, the Muslim, artisans or farmers sell themselves permanently to the money lender. They are never freed from economic thralldom. Just on the eve of India getting her independence, the condition of Muslims in the provinces where they are in majority, Punjab, Sindh, Bengal was so depressed economically that if the issue, instead of religion had been capital, between Hindus and Muslims,—labour being represented by them and ninety per cent lower class

Hindus, and capital by upper class Hindoos, the labour and Muslim would have succeeded in coming to power. But that would be communism which is dreaded by both of us. The demand of Pakistan though religious was in reality economical and if it has succeeded in improving the lot of Muslims by suppressing the Hindus, a very large proportion of Muslims living in India are threatened with economical collapse. Already backward intellectually, they could not compete with Hindus in public service examinations. Military service was already barred to them. Trade and industry was monopolised by the Hindus and we have been reduced to a community of hewers of wood and drawers of water. Let us now take a quick glance at the general economical condition of the Muslims in India: (in Ceylon they are much more prosperous than elsewhere in this continent) and then take a bird's eye view of the economical condition of the people of Persia and Afghanistan.

Climate and physical geography play an active part in the industrialisation of a country, next comes want and demand, and lastly aptitude, heritage and traditions. The climate condition of India has made the people almost independent of garments, and for that reason they never knew the art of making it or sewing it together. It was the Pathans and the Moghals who brought this industry in India and till our time the best weavers in both northern India and south were Muslims. Brocades, Muslins, silken gauze, carpets all are their invention. The Benares Zari and Saris are made by them, the famous prints of Agra and Farrukhabad are their speciality. And

of course we know of the shawls of Kashmir. All these weavers are now starving. The textile Mills owned mostly by Hindu capitalists have superseded them and where the fine artistic hand made things are wanted, for instance in England and America, the Hindus have the main export trade, to whom the Muslim weavers act only as paid or hired agent or artisans, at very pitiful wages. The wood work of Bareilly, Nagina and Saharanpur, the metal work of Moradabad and Bidar (Deccan) is as far as skill and labour goes belongs to them, but the profit goes in the pockets of the Hindus, either in interest on their usurious loan or in the hired labour. Usury is the one bane of Muslims, as long it is not made illegal by law the capital will concentrate in the hands of those whom it is lawful and labour in those who consider it is unlawful. Therefore either the usury is banned by an act of legislation or the whole industry and commerce is nationalised, as transport and land has been done, Muslim shall always remain handicapped in India in the field of commerce and industry.

In India both inland and in ports, as I have remarked Muslims are fairly well represented and some own very big departmental stores. Under British rules, mostly their business in cantonment brought them good yield, but still in some trade they cannot make any headway, in matters of food and restaurants, for instance as no Hindu touches any food handled by Mohammedans, in drygood stores they are quite on par with their neighbours.

We have just done away with land capitalism and the land is now owned by the cultivators in which Muslim

share is according to their numbers. They have one advantage over the Hindus, while the Hindu maintains a number of useless animals and feeds them, Muslims make a good use of them in meat and hide. Then he can keep poultry farm which a Hindu never does, and having a good dieting he is more strong and capable in farming than the Hindu. Pakistan has the special crops of jute, wheat and cotton which brings foreign money in the pockets of farmers, and in both India and Pakistan, agriculture has brought prosperity and contentment to Muslims.

Economical conditions of Persia today and yesterday.

Marco Polo writes about Yezd "A specie of cloth of silk and gold manufactured there is known by the appellation of Yezdi and is carried there by merchants to all parts of the world. Its inhabitants are of Mohamedan religion. Those who travel from that city employ eight days in passing over plain, in the course of which they meet with only three places that offer accommodation. The road lies through extensive groves of the date bearing palm, in which there is abundance of game as well as beasts as partridges and quails, and the travellers who are fond of amusement of the chess may here enjoy excellent sport. Wild asses are likewise to be met with, very numerous and handsome. At the end of eight days you arrive at a kingdom named Kirman. Kirman is the kingdom on the eastern confines of Persia which was formerly governed by its own monarch in hereditary succession, but since the Tartars have brought it under their dominions they appoint a governor to it at their place. In the

mountains of the country are found precious stones that we call turquoise. They are manufactured here in great perfection. All the articles necessary for warlike equipment such as saddles, bridles, spurs, swords, bows, quivers and every kind of arms in use amongst these people. The women and young persons work with the needles in embroideries of silk and gold in a variety of colour and pattern, representing birds and beasts with other ornamental devices. They are designed for the curtains, coverlets, cushion and cushions of the sleeping places of the rich, and the work is executed with so much taste and skill as to be object of admiration."

Elsewhere he describes another Persian town as follows:

"In the cities there are merchants and numerous artisans who manufacture a variety of stuff of silk and gold. Cotton grows abundantly in this country as do wheat, barley, millets and several species of fruits. . . ."

From Marco Polo we come to Ibn Batutah who travelled in Persia in the thirteenth century and Nasir Khusro passed a greater part of it when going from his home to Egypt, a record of which he has left for us, and they note the general prosperity and happiness of the people, abundance of fruits, food and well furnished bazaars. European travellers of the sixteenth and seventeenth century too have not said anything about the general poverty and misery of people, rather the rapacity of the rulers found enough to spare for people, to make them live with content and ease and devote their leisure in skill and art.

The hand book of Persian art as published by Colonel Mordoch Smith R. E. in 1876, with reference to the collection purchased and sent home by him for the Victoria and Albert Museum, has an instructive account of the more common manufactures of the country. They are classified under the respective heads of "porcelain and earthenware," tile arms and armour, textile fabrics, needlework, and embroidery, metal work, wood carving and mosaic painting, enamel, jewellery and musical instruments. It need scarcely be said that tiles have rather increased in value than deteriorated in the eyes of the connoisseur, that the ornamentation of metal work, wood carving and inlaying, gem and seal engraving, are exquisite of their kind, and that the carpets manufacture by skilful workmen, when left to themselves and their native patterns, are to great extent unrivalled. Of the above mentioned articles, carpets, shawls, woollen and cotton fabrics and silk stuffs are the more important. Great quantities valued in some years at £ 100,000 find their way to European and American markets, while Ghalichah or rugs to the value of £ 300,000 per annum are exported from the Persian Gulf ports. The value of the carpets exported during the year 1906-1907 was close upon £ 900,000. Shawls are manufactured in Kerman and Meshhed, and form an article of export principally to Turkey. Woollen fabrics manufactured in many districts, but are not exported in any great quantity. Coarse cotton stuffs, chiefly of the kind of Kerbaz, used in their natural colour, are dyed blue with indigo are manufactured in all districts but not exported; cottons, called Kalamkar which

are made in Manchester and block printed in colours in Ispahan and Kumish, find their way to fine markets, principally Russian. Of silk fabrics manufactured in Persia, principally in Khorassan, Kashan and Yezd, about £ 100,000 worth per annum is exported to Turkey, Russia and India. In the environs of Kashan. Fars chiefly at Maimand, much rose water is made, and considerable quantity of it is exported by way of Bushire to India and Java.

The fruits exported from Persia during 1906-1907 had a value of £ 1,019,000. Among the valuable vegetable products, forming articles of export various gums and dyes, the most important being gum tragacanth which exudes from astragalus plant in the hilly region from Kurdistan in the north-west to Kerman in the south-east. Other gums are gum ammoniac, asfaeteda, galbanum, sagapanum, Sarcocola and apoponax. In 1906 3,310 tons of various gums were exported of a value of £ 300,000. Of dye stuffs there are produced Henna, grown at Khabis near Kerman, woad and madder, and small quantity of indigo is grown near Dizful and Shuster. The export of dyes in 1906-1907 was 985 tons valued £ 32,326. The export of rice to 52,000 tons in 1906-1907 and was valued at £ 472,550. Peas, beans, lentils, grams, maize, millet are also universally cultivated and exported from the Persian gulf ports to India and Arabian coast. The Persian fruit is excellent and abundant, and a large quantities of dried fruits called Khushkbar, as quinces, peaches, plums (of several kinds), raisins, figs, almonds, pistachios, walnuts and dates, as well as oranges (only from the

Caspian provinces) are exported. The fruit exported during 1906-1907 had a value of £1,019,000. Cotton is largely grown principally in the central districts and Khorassan, and some qualities are excellent and command high price in European market; 18,400 tons of raw cottons valued at £838,787 were exported to Russia in 1906-07. Good hemp grows wild in Marzendran. Tobacco of two kinds, Tambuk for water pipe and Tutun for cigarettes is much cultivated. The Tambuk for export is chiefly produced in the central districts round Isphahan and near Kashan, while the Tambuk of Shiraz, Fessa and Darab in Fars, considered the best in Persia, is not much appreciated abroad. Tutun is cultivated in Azerbaijan, near Urmia, and other places near the Turkish frontiers in Kurdistan, and since 1875, in the districts of Risht, Gilam. About 1885, the quantity of tobacco exported amounted to between 4,000 to 5,000 tons. In 1906-1907, only 1,820 tons valued at £42,000 were exported. Of oil yielding plants, the castor oil plants, sesame, linseed and olive are cultivated, the last only in small districts south of and near Risht very little oil is exported. The cultivation of poppy for opium greatly increased after 1810, and it was estimated in 1900 that the annual produce of opium amounted to over 1,000 tons of which about two-fifth was consumed and smoked in the country. The principal opium producing districts are those of Shiraz, Isphahan, Yezd, Kerman, Khorassan, Burjurid, and Kermanshah, 239 tons valued at £237,270 in 1906-07 was exported. The value of silk produced in Persia in the sixties was £1,000,000 per annum and decreased consequence of silk worm disease to

£ 30,000 in 1890. The quantity produced has since then steadily increased and its yearly value is estimated at half a million. Cocoon and raw silk valued at £ 316,140 were exported in 1906-07.

Persia possesses considerable mineral riches, of which the Petroleum is the most important. It has been leased out to Anglo-Persian Oil Coy., but has recently been nationalised. It brought the main revenue of Persia in royalty, but also that income is now lost and the nationalisation interfered by the might of Great Britain has practically stopped which was the second largest item of world export. Russian coming first and Iraq and Arabia third. Other minerals have not yet been exploited owing to poor transport and the scarcity of fuel. Deposits of rich ores of copper, lead, iron, manganese, zinc, nickel, cobalt etc. abound. There are Turquoise mines in Neshapoor; several copper mines in Khorassan, Semman, Azerbaijan and Kerman, some of lead, two considerably argentiferous, in Khorassan, Tudarvar (near Samnan), Anguran, Afshar and Kerman, two of iron at mesula near Urimia, one of Cobalt at Kamsar (near Kashan), one of Alum in Taron (near Kazvin), and a number of coal fields in the Lar district, north-east of Tehran, and at Hiv and Aybek, north-west of Tehran. There are also many quarries of rock salt, gypsum, lime and some of the marble, alabaster and soapstone etc. The annual revenue of the Government from leases, rents, and royalties of mines does not amount to more than £ 15,000 of which £ 6,000 is derived from the turquoise mines of Neshapoor.

Timbers from the forests of Marzendran and Gilan

has been a valuable article of export for many years, and since about 1870 large quantity of boxwood has been exported thence, in some years value of the timber and boxwood exported has exceeded £50,000. The oak forests of Kurdistan, Luristan and the Bakhtiari districts are very considerable but damage has been caused by indiscriminate cutting and so far no scientific method of conservation of forest, a considerable wealth of Persia has been applied.

The present cost of living in Persia is high, but it has never caused any famine or starvation to people as in India. Here Mark Sykes draws the picture of the economical condition of the peasant, in his time some years before the Great War I.

"A Persian peasant family, the unit of the village and ultimately of the nation, deserves careful study. The peasant and his wife, living in a colder climate than the Punjabi, are, as might be expected, better clad, although to our ideas their clothes are not wholly adequate for the very severe climate of Khorassan. On the other hand they do not move about early in the winter, except when they take their produce for sale; and, if weather be bad, they stay at home.

The peasant wears cotton trousers and a cotton shirt. These are made from locally cotton material, which is generally dyed blue. Over this he wears a long coat reaching to below the knees, with very long sleeves. This garment is made of striped calico, wadded with cotton, and is generally kept in its place by a waist band of white calico; in it bread and other articles are tied up. A second coat, generally made of dark brown woollen home-

spun and lined down to the waist, is also worn. In winter a long woollen coat reaching down to the knees is added. Shepherds, camel drivers, and some others have large white felt coats which are very warm. On his head the peasant wears a felt cap, which is more or less a skull cap round which a pugree is wrapped. Shoes are invariably worn; socks and puttees are donned when needed.

The wife has clothes of the same stuff but generally of gay colour. She wears a pair of very wide trousers fastening to below the knees, and a long chemise with cloak above. Round her head she winds a square piece of Muslin, which is sometimes fastened with a handkerchief. Over all these she wears a long sheet, which is usually blue, or sometimes white, and which covers her entire person.

The consumption per head of grain amounts to an average of 50 pounds of wheat per month. In Persia wheat as a rule is a staple food, and barley and other inferior grains are used only when there is a dearth of wheat. The bread is made in the oven twice a week. The Persian eats curds, cheese, eggs, beetroot, turnips, onions, garlic, and various herbs; his bread he eats as a rule with curds and mint. He seldom drinks tea. The use of this beverage is steadily on the increase, but only well-to-do peasants can afford to indulge in the luxury regularly. Meat is also a luxury, but is occasionally eaten during the winter. A peasant has usually three meals in the morning, at noon, and at sunset; of these the morning meal is light and the other two are full meals. He manages to save £1 a year, but if he is single

his savings are sometimes higher. When wheat is dear the peasant makes money.

The Punjabi (now Pakistani) to continue the comparison, generally lives on barley and millet and sells his wheat. Indeed in every way, his scale of living is much lower. As one Indian once put it to me, "In Persia bread and meat is the question in the towns, but in India bread alone."

All peasants, both men and women, smoke tobacco, which they have generally raised in their own land.

Every house has a *Kursi* arranged as follows; a wooden frame is set in the middle of the room and live charcoal placed under it in an open brazier. A quilt is then spread over the frame, and the family sits, works and sleeps in the same room under the quilt and is thus kept warm and comfortable, although cases of death from asphyxiation are not uncommon.

An ordinary peasant rarely spends more than the following amount on the marriage of his children:

Clothes and Jewellery	Ts. 15 or £ 3.
Expenses on entertainment of guests	Ts. 20 or £ 4.
<hr/>	
Total.....	Ts. 35 or £ 7.

The parents of girl charge from £ 4 to £ 20 as the price of the mother's milk given to the girl during infancy; this sum is generally used for the purchase of the brides clothes and jewellery. In the Punjab, on the other hand, hundreds of rupees are spent on marriage, which cripples the family permanently.

To summarize, the peasant in Persia, and especially

in cold part of the country, is certainly better clad and better fed than people of the same class in the Punjab. The household comforts are greater. In the Punjab the peasants are in the hands of money lenders to a considerable extent, whereas in Persia this is rarely a case. Moreover, thousands of the Khorassan peasants go to work in Russian 'Turkistan during the winter and thus supplement their incomes. , Persians are not of saving dispositions like the majority of Indians, who save to excess but ruin themselves in weddings. Finally, the Persian peasant appears to be finer in physique and more intelligent than the Punjab cultivator, and in spite of the oppression that prevails is better off from many points of view.

The economics of Afghanistan.

Financially Afghanistan has never, since it first became a kingdom, been able to pay for its own government, public works and army. There appears to be the inherent reason why it should be so. While it can never (in the absense of any great mineral wealth) develop into a wealthy country, it can at least support its own population; and it would, but for the short sighted policy of Amir Abdurrahman, certainly have risen to a position of respectable solvency. Its revenues (for which no trustworthy information is available) are subject to a great fluctuation and probably never exceed the value of one million sterling per annum. They fell in Sher Ali's time to £ 700,000.

Few minerals are wrought in Afghanistan, though Abdurrahman claims in his auto-biography, that the coun-

try is rich in mines. Some small quantity of gold is taken from the streams in Laghman and the adjoining districts. Famous silver mines formerly worked near the head of Panjshir valley in Hindu Kush. Kabul is chiefly supplied with iron from the Parmuli (or Farmuli) district, between the upper Kurram and Gomal, where it is said to be abundant. Iron ore is most abundant near the passes leading to Bamian and in other parts of Hindu Kush, Copper ore from various parts of Afghanistan has been seen, but is no where worked. Lead, antimony, coal also abound in various parts of the country but none have been so far exploited scientifically. All European fruits are produced profusely, in many varieties and of excellent quality. Fresh or preserved, they form a principal food for the large class of the people, and the dry fruit is largely exported. Mulberries and grapes are grown extensively. The principal part of the garden lands in the village round Qandhar, is vineyard and produce must be enormous. The pomegranates are grown extensively and of extremely fine quality. The manufacture of the country have not developed much, but recently some progress has been made. Postins and the many varieties of camel and goat hairs cloth which under the name of Barak Karak etc. are manufactured in northern districts, are still the chief local products of the parts of Afghanistan. Herat and Kandhar are famous for their silk, though a large proportion of manufactured silk found in the Herat market, as well as many of the felts, carpets and embroideries are brought from Central Asia. The district of Herat produces many of the smaller sorts of

carpets of excellent design and colour, the little town of Ardashkand being specially famous for this industry; but they are not to be compared with the best products of eastern Persia or of the Turkuman districts about the Panjdeh.

It is impossible to give accurate trade statistics, there being no trustworthy system to registration. The value of imports from Kabul to India was estimated to be Rs. 2,21,400 the period of lowest intermediate depression being 1897. In 1898 the imports from Kandhar to India was valued at Rs. 3,30,000 and the export from India to Kandhar at about Rs. 2,64,000. Agriculture products of the country consists of wheat, barley and a variety of lentils. Rice is not very largely distributed. In much of the eastern mountainous country bajra is the chief grain. Sugarcane is grown only in rich plain; turnips in some places are cultivated very largely as cattle food. Madder is an important item of its spring crop in Ghazni and Kandhar districts, and generally over the west, and supplies the Indian demand. It is said to be very profitable, though it takes three years to mature. Saffron is grown and exported. The castor oil plant is every where common and furnishes most of the oil of the country. Tobacco is grown very generally; that of Kandhar has much repute.

CHAPTER VI

INTELLECTUAL LIFE AND ACTIVITIES

It is perhaps not generally known that the Livy of the Arabians or the father of Arab historians was a Persian entitled Tabri—related to his home Tabaristan who flourished in the second century of Hegira. He was a Shia by persuasion and Orthodox by pretension and to him the Islamic history owes many of the unfounded legends about Ali, he also wrote a commentary of the Quraan in such elegant style that he was never suspected to have been a non-Arab. His real name was Rustam with the Arabic patronym, Ibn Jarir. The Persian Muslim educated in Arab school often excelled their masters in literary style, they are represented in every branch of Science and art in the early days of Omayyid Khillaphate, and their Arabic works is hardly distinguishable in elegance and style from the native Arabs. Among the geographers Ibne Khurdadbih, Ibne Hauqal, the Abul Fazal of the Arabs, statistician of the Arab Empire on which work Mr. Le Strange has based his thesis "Land of Eastern Khilaphate", "Baghdad under the Abbasides" and "Jerusalem under the Moslems." Alberuni astronomer and geographer whose book on India has been translated by Sachau, and is perhaps the most scientific study of India that has ever been penned in ancient or medieval or even modern times. Ibn Sina and

Farabi represent science, medicine and philosophy and lastly the lexicographer, Firuzabadi robs the Arabs of the honours of being the masters of their own language and literature.

The birth of Persian literature is believed to date from the era of Saffarid dynasty, and constitutes one of the strongest chains to affectionate remembrance. During this period of one thousand years the changes in the Persian languages have been astonishingly small, and supreme among the poets of the Court of Mahmoud of Ghazni was Abul Qassim famous under the title Firdausi, the author of the great national epic of Shah Namah. Just a few years earlier Kabus Namah and Siasat Namah were written in readable Persian. The Siasat Namah or the treatise on the art of Government comprise fifty chapters treating of royal duties, royal prerogatives, and administration. It is written in simple language and as it embodies the views of the greatest Persian administrators, who adorns his narrative with numerous historical anecdotes it is one of the most valuable Persian prose works in existence. Another Persian work is more interesting and amusing to read than the books of moral precepts and rules of life composed in A.C. 1082 by Kaikaus the grandson of Qabus, the Ziyarid prince. It deals in a charming and witty fashion with duty towards parents, age and youth, hunting Polo, marriage education, the science of medicine, astrology and mathematics; indeed few subjects are ignored and we gain a real insight into the oriental point of view, everything being analysed in the most simple language by a writer who anticipated the Polinius of Shakespeare.

Nasir Khusro, the poet and traveller has recorded his adventures in a work termed as *Safarnamah* which gives in simple language the details of his journey from Merv to Nishapoor, Tabriz and across Asia Minor to Aleppo. He then performed the pilgrimage to Mecca in A.H. 934 (1047). He gives a most interesting account of the prosperity, good order, and justice prevailing under the Fatimid Khalifs in Egypt, whence after a stay of two or three years he returned to Khorassan. On his journey he followed a southern route, visiting Ispahan, Nain, Tabas, Tun, Sarkhas; of these Tabas and Tun afterwards became well known Ismaili centres. Of his poetry the *Dewan* is famous, its main theme being the strong insistence of the Ismaili view of allegorical interpretation.

Omar Khayyam is the best Persian poet in England and America, owing to the genius of Fitzgerald, his name if brought among the Persian, they will reply "Omar Khayyam was a philosopher and his labours in connection with Jelali era, and his reputation does not rest on his quartains. He was a friend, and, according to some, school fellow of Nizamul Mulk, who granted him a pension.

The famous poets of this period were Muizzi, Anwari, Khakani and Nizami. Anwari was the poet laureate and astronomer of Sultan Sanjar. Khakani was the native of Ganja, the modern Elizabetopol in Caucasus, and was of Christian extraction. Having been taken up and brought up by an old poet, he became a brilliant star in the literary firmament, notorious for the difficulty of his verse, which is also extremely artificial. His poems were mainly

panegyrics, but one inspired by the ruins of Taki Kisra, strikes a loftier note. Nizami, also a native of Ganja, wrote five romantic poems, famous as the five treasures. These works almost enjoy unrivalled popularity today. Especially Khusro and Shirin and Layla and Majnu, scenes from which have constantly inspired artists. Attar the last poet of pre Mongol period is Fariduddin known as Attar or druggist. This remarkable man was born at Nishapoor, about the middle of the twelfth century, and apparently fell a victim to the Mongols, when his native city was sacked. Attar composed numerous works the best known of which is Pandnamah or book of the counsels. His fame, however, chiefly rests on the celebrated poems, Mantiqut-Tair or the parliament of birds, an allegory in which birds of different species unite in a quest for Simurgh, the mystical eagle, the birds typifying Sufi pilgrims and the Simurgh the truth.

Coming to the period of Moghal conquests, Alaud din Juwani, who being the secretary of Hulagu enjoyed exceptional advantages. His history of the world conquerer Chengiz Khan called Tarikh Jahan Kushai treats of the origin of Mongols and the conquest of Chengiz Khan of Khwarizm Shahs, the Hulagu's campaign against the Assassins, in which the author took part. A third history is Jamiuttwarikh or collection of histories by Rashiddin Fazlullah, who wrote the origins of Ghazan Khan and of his successors. It treats fully of the Mongols and also of the dynasties which ruled in Persia immediately before Mongol invasion. And lastly there is Shehabuddin Mohammad of Nisa, the secretary of fight-

ing Jalauddin Mohammad Khwarizm, whose history was written in A.H. 639 (1241) ten years after the death of his master, and is a useful contribution to our knowledge of the stirring adventures in which he himself took part. Of the historians who wrote in the later Mongol period, Mir Akhwand who was born in the middle of 15th century, and his son Mir Khawind are the best known. Mir Akhwand was attached to the Court of Herat, and his patron was the cultivated Ali Sher, the Vizier of Sultan Hussein. His great work is *Rauzatussafa*, or the garden of Purity, which is a general history of Persia in seven ponderous tomes from the creation to A.C. 1471. His narratives like those of other writers, is enlivened by numerous anecdotes. Mir Khawind was the author of the abridgment of his father's history and also wrote a history of Mongols. Owing to Uzbek's eruption Mir Khawind quitting Khorassan in A.C. 152 lived in the Court of Babur in India.

Among the Courtiers of the grandmasters of the assassins was Nasiruddin famous philosopher of Tus, who had been kidnapped to serve as his instructor and adviser, and who persuaded his master to surrender to Mongols. He was treated with much respect by Hulagu Khan, over whom he exercised unbounden influence, and it was chiefly his advice which induced the Mongol prince to undertake the final advance on Baghdad. His range included religion, philosophy, mathematics, physics, astronomy, on which subject he wrote at great length, and one of his chief claims to fame is that he persuaded Hulagu to found the celebrated observatory at Muragha. His philosophical

treatise on ethics, *Ikhlaq e Nasiri* is still a classic in Persian schools.

India at the same time produced historians and statisticians. Mullah Mahmoud of Jaunpore in the time of Sharqi King Ibrahim wrote a treatise on astronomy, called *Shams-Bazegha* which is still read in Arabic Madarssahs. Amir Khusrou of Delhi a great scholar of Hindi and Persian and a disciple of Nizamuddin Aulia flourished in the early days of Tughlaq and last days of Khijis, he imitated Nizami by the *khamasa* the book of five treasuries on equal merit with Nizami. Abdul Fadhl the talented Prime Minister of Akbar, the author of *Akbar Namah* including *Aeen e Akbari* and his equally gifted and talented brother Faizi, a Sanskrit scholar and author of several books of poems which he translated from Sanskrit. He wrote a commentary of the Quran in Arabic without a vowel point or *Nuqtas* called *Swatul Ilham*. His scholarship of Sanskrit is equally shared earlier by Abu Rehan Alberuni whose book on India is a classic and a monumental work, and his book on astronomy *Canon Masudicas* show that he anticipated the modern research and later by Abdurahim Khan Khana, whose Hindi *Dohas* or couplets, and Mohammad Jaisi whose *Padmawat* equally renowned with the *dohas* of Rahim are the ornaments of Hindi literatures.

Khorassan produced Jami the sufi poet, whose history of saint. *Nafkhatul-Ins* finds a parallel in Sheikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlavi *Akabarulakiyar* flourishing in the time of Akbar. Both dabbled in mysticism, one wrote a commentary on Ibne Arabi's *Fusual Hekam* and the

other commentary on Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani's work, Futhul Galib, and Ghuniyattut talibin. The post Moghal literature in Persia was represented by Saadi and Hafiz who end the literary period in Medieval India and Iran, followed by a dreary barren period until revived in our own time by modern writers, beginning with Mirza Ibrahim in Persia whose book of travel reacted against the static condition in which Persia had fallen and was precursor to political reforms in that country. In India, the polemics of Shah Waliullah and Shah Abdul Aziz paved the way for subsequent writers, Sir Sayyid Ahmed. Hali, Nazir Ahmed, Mohsinul Mulk Shibli, Sharar who wrote books on romance, history and biography with emphasis on religion. Akbar and Iqbal as poets, Suleiman Nadvi, Hafiz Aslam Jairajpuri, Abdussalam Nadvi, Moeenuddin Nadvi, Abdul Majid Daryabadi, Abul Kalam Azad are the present day writers of outstanding merit though with the exception of Abdul Majid Daryabadi who has contributed on philosophical subjects, the literary activities of others is confined to Islamic religion, biography and history, subjects almost hackneyed by repeated productions.

Promotion of learning and Establishment of schools, literary societies, etc.

When Sultan Mohmoud of Ghazni returned from his expedition to Muttra, he devoted a part of his booty to the foundation of the University of Ghazni in the year 410 A.H. Attached to it was a library containing a large number of books on different subjects and different languages. For the maintenance of this university many vil-

lages were allotted and it is related by historian Ferishta that this set example for the erection of several other colleges in Ghazni by the help and contribution of Court dignitaries. Before the foundation of this university, Persia had already a university at Neshapoor established long before the University of Baghdad called Nizamiah was founded. One college affiliated to this university was called Saeedia built and founded by Amir Nasr brother of Sultan Mahmoud. There was another college named Baihaqiya whose principal was Abdul Qassim Skoff Isfraini. Imamul Harmain the teacher of Al Ghazzali was the student of this college. A college was built by public subscription in order that the philosopher Abul Fariq (d. 408 A.H.) and author of about more than hundred books be appointed as its principal, another college was built at public subscription for another Savant Abul Isfraini (d. 418 A.H.). When Nasir Khusro reached Neshapoor in his itinerary he found another college was being built by Toghral Beg and one College was already established by Abu Saeed Ismail Astrabadi. And lastly one other Nizamiah college was founded in Neshapoor by the famous Nizamul Mulk the founder of Nizamiah University of Baghdad. Three hundred years later when Ibn Batutah visited Persia, he found schools and colleges in every town, offering him temporary shelter at night. Chardin the French traveller of the sixteenth century found forty-eight colleges in Isphahan alone in the time of Suleiman Sufvi. In fact in Medieval Iran Khanqahs (monasteries) and colleges go side by side and has been as frequently met by travellers as Carvan Sarai and Hans.

India too did not lag behind in the promotion of learning. Most of the rulers like Feruz Shah, Nasiruddin Mahmmed, Kaikobad, Jalauddin, Sikanadar Lodi, Babur, Jehangir, Aurangzeb were themselves literary men who composed verses of tolerable standard and have left memoirs, history, and poetry of no mean order. Under their patronage, historians like Barni, Budauni, Ferishta flourished and reached a standard in their chronology which might almost be called modern. Unfortunately these chroniclers took very little notice of any achievement or attainment of Muslims save their military conquests and political administration, and the little which can be gleaned from their writing supplemented by the observations of travellers is hardly sufficient to fill even two pages of history. Fortunately, as far as India is concerned a very learned Bengalee has devoted one of his theses on the subject of promotion of learning under Mohammadan rules by Mohammadans. This gentleman Mr. Narendra Nath Law has brought out his book in a very nice edition, which in usual course found way in Abbas Manzil Library and I am indebted to him in drawing the following picture in substance in his own words. We could not of course quote the full book of 176 pp. in Demy Royal, nor even his footnote of authority and readers must supplement it with original if they get it or borrow from any library.

It will be recalled that Mohammad Ghorī left his vast conquest in India and Afghanistan to his slaves, Qutubuddin Aibak in Hindustan, Tajuddin Yalduz in Afghanistan, Nasiruddin Qubacha in Multan and Sindh.

Like Alexander's successors they fought each other and finally Qutubuddin succeeded in vanquishing the others and founding the first dynasty of India called the Slave dynasty. His capital Delhi soon after became the refuge of all the princes and learned men of central Asia who had fled from the terrors of Mongols. Qutubuddin Aibek's kingdom passed on to another slave Shamsuddin Altamash, who was succeeded by his daughter Razia and his son Nasiruddin Mahmud when another slave took the rein of the Government, this was redoubtable Balban whose sword found no refuge for any rebels or enemies. He retired to Bengal leaving the empire in the hands of incapable grandson Kaikobad who was overthrown by Jalauddin Feroz and from him the line of Muslim rulers passed hereditarily from father to son until an adventurer arose and wrested the empire from the weaklings and founded a dynasty of his own. Thus during the three hundred years culminating in the conquest of Babur, India had nearly six dynasties of rulers. Tughlaq, Khilji, Siyed, Lodi and Suri, apart from the slave dynasty. Under their patronage learning was not neglected and we find Mr. Law digging out grains from chaffs of history thus:—

“King Altamash with his political preoccupation does not seem to have given much thought to the encouragement of learning. There are, however, proofs that he was liberal and that Delhi continued to be the resort of learned men. There sought refuge the most learned Persian poet and philosopher of his age, Amir Kuhani, who fled from Bukhara when it was sacked by Chengiz

Khan to the court of Delhi, which was sufficiently attractive to draw him thither for asylum and protection; and during his stay there he wrote a great many poems. Again Nasiruddin, the author of popular collections of historical anecdotes in Persian, lived at the Sultan's Court receiving his encouragement and patronage. Moreover the choice of Fakhrul Mulk, formerly the Vizier of the Khalif of Baghdad for thirty years and much renowned for his wisdom and learning, as the Sultan's Prime Minister shows that Altamash had a discerning eye and was not slow to recognize literary merit. We further learn that a Madarssah was built by this monarch and that this edifice fell into dilapidated condition in the time of Sultan Firuz Tughlaq more than a century afterwards; and Firuz with characteristic liberality shown in educational matters, rebuilt the college and furnished it with sandalwood doors. Lastly Altamash faithfully discharged the duty of giving sound education to his son Mahmoud for whom a separate arrangement was made at Launi (forty miles east of Delhi, in the Gaziabad Tahsil of Meerut—*Editor*) befitting his position.

Sultan Raziyah, the gifted daughter of Altamash, on whom devolved the difficult task of Government and who fills a high place in the illustrious roll of Indian woman rulers, owed her success in no small degree, to her education. Ferishta records that she was well versed in the Quran which she could read with correct pronunciation. She was a patron of learned. During Raziah's reign we hear of a college at Delhi called the Muizzi College. When the heretics Karamatah or Mulaheda attacked

Delhi in two bodies, one of them passing through bazaar of Bazzazan (clothier's market) entered the gateway of the aforesaid College under the supposition that it was Jamey Masjid and fell upon the people on both sides with their swords.

The next two reigns of Bahram and Maseud are educationally unimportant except for the patronage of Siraj, the author of *Tabqat Nasiri*, who was appointed the principal of Nasiriyah College and superintendents of its endowments.

The next Sultan Nasiruddin occupies an important place in literary history. He was himself a scholar and during periods of twenty years that he ruled found ample opportunities for advancing education. Even when a sovereign he lived a life of a student and a hermit, a traits of character so rare in a king and was in the habit of purchasing his food with the sale proceeds of the products of his penmanship. A copy of the Quran transcribed by this sovereign with great taste and elegance was shown by Qazi Kamaluddin to Ibne Batutah when he visited India about a century after.

At this time there seems to have existed a College at Jullundhar, in the Hall of which the prayers of Idul Adha were said by the followers of Ulugh Khan Azam on their journey back to Delhi after a successful expedition.

Nasiruddin was followed by Balban who was also a great friend of literature, and his court was a resort of many learned men. This was partly due to the then political conditions of India and some of the neighbouring countries. It was at this time that Chengiz Khan

was ravaging Khorassan and other places which made more than fifteen princes seek an honourable asylum at Delhi. Allowances befitting their position and places were assigned to each of them, and it was upon this fact that Balban used to pride himself, whenever he had the occasion to speak of this incident. In the retinue of these princes were some of the most illustrious men of learning of that time. The Court of the Indian Sultan was, therefore, the centre of learning and wealth.

A remarkable feature of Delhi at this time was abundance of its literary societies. Prince Mohammad, the eldest son of the Sultan was a youth of very promising talents and evinced great taste of literature. He himself made a choice collection of poems extracted from the most celebrated authors. This work contained twenty thousand couplets which were esteemed the most select specimens then extant. This prince with his marked literary tastes, took the lead in the formation of literary societies. Amir Khusro the famous poet was the tutor of this prince and used to preside in the prince's literary societies the place chosen for the meeting of the members of this society was the princely palace.

There was another society inaugurated by the second son of the Sultan named Kara Khan Boghra; musicians, dancers, actors, story tellers were the members of this society and used to hold their meetings frequently at the prince's palace. The Amirs followed suit. Within a short time, various societies were formed in every quarter of Delhi. The Imperial house that set a fashion in these refined amusements, which was fraught with possibilities

of great good to the country at large.

Besides Amir Khusro the tutor, the prince had several literary companions, among whom may be mentioned the name of Amir Hassan, also a great poet. The prince delighted to honour the two poets and marked his appreciation of their merits by grants of land and proper allowances.

The literary ardour of this worthy scion of the Royal House expressed itself in the importunity with which he used to invite learned men to come to his court and live there in the midst of all advantages of literary life that a generous prince could shower on them. At Lahore he visited Sheikh Usman Tirmidhi the most learned men of that age, but no presents or entreaties could prevail on him to remain out of his country Turan. He twice sent messengers to Shiraz to invite Sheikh Saadi the famous Persian poet and philosopher and forwarded with some presents and also the money to defray the expenses of the journey. His intention was to build a seminary (Khan-khah) for him in Multan and endow it with villages for its maintenance. The poet through feebleness of old age was unable to accept the invitation, but on both occasions sent some verses in his own hand and made his apologies in writing, commending also in the high terms the abilities of Amir Khusro, the president of the princes' learned society.

The attitude of Sultan Balban towards literary world was no less commendable. The advice which the Sultan gave, on one occasion to Prince Mohammad shows that the monarch respected learned men and also realised the

great help they could render to the government if only their wisdom was adequately utilised. He said—"Spare no pain to discover men of genius, learning and courage. You must cherish them by kindness and munificence that they may prove the soul of your council and instruments of your authority.

Again his unique conduct in showing respects towards learned men on his return to Delhi from his successful expedition to Bengal reflects much credit on him. After conferring dignities on Fakhruddin Kotwal, who had ruled Delhi with much wisdom and ability during his absence for three years, he visited the learned men at their own houses, and made them rich presents.

In the long reign of Sultan Balban extending about twenty years many an eminent and learned men flourished in Delhi. Besides the persons mentioned, there were Sheikh Shakargunj, Sheikh Bahauddin and his son, Sheikh Badruddin Arif of Ghazni the philosopher, the pious and learned Qutubuddin Bakhtiar Kaki, Syed Maula and many other eminent in various branches of science and literature. Syed Maula founded an academy and an almshouse (langarkhana) at Delhi.

The next Sultan Kaikobad, ruled only for two years, during this short period, the progress of education was set back in spite of his literary bent of mind. And the next Khilji dynasty which dethroned and imprisoned him was founded by Sultan Jalaluddin Feroz (himself a poet of no mean order as the following verse quoted by Budauni shows:—

An Zulf parishant zolida nami khwaham.

Wan Ruey chu gulnarat tuftida nami khwaham.

Bey pairahant khwaham yek shab ba kanar Aiyee.

Han Bang a baland ust in poshida nami khwaham.

I do not want ruffled curly locks, nor thy face blooming like the pomegranate flower. Come undressed to my chamber some night. That is all I want and I say this loudly and not secretly. Contrast with this ribaldry, the following verse of Kaikobad whom he imprisoned cannot fail to creat sympathy for him and equal disdain for his tormentor.

"Aspe Huiaram bar Sare Maidan manda ast.

"Dastey Karamam dar Tahey sandan mandast,

"Chashmum ki zaro kan o guhar kam deeday

Imroz barai nan che hairan mandast.

The stead of my learning has stood bewildered on ground, my munificent hand has remained under hammer. The eyes which despised gold and mines of gems, see how expectant are for a piece of bread. : Editor) and a man of marked literary taste, he used to pay due honour to learned men and a literary atmosphere was created about the royal court and men famous for their erudition, and for their works of poetry, history or science like Amir Khusro. Tajuddin Iraqi, Khwaja Hassan, Muyyid Diwana, Amir Arsalan Qali, Iftikharuddin Yaghi, Baqi Khatir, Qazi Mughis, Saaduddin Mantaqi flourished in his reign. A noticeable feature of Jalaluddin's reign was that he chose the right person to fill the office of the librarian for the Imperial library of Delhi. This high

post which carried with it much honour, was conferred on Amir Khusro, who was held in high regard by the Sultan. Syed Maula who first established the academy at Delhi in the time of Balban was suspected for plotting with his disciples against the Sultan and was done away with. Very soon the Sultan himself met the same fate at the hand of his nephew Alauddin who treacherously got him murdered at Kara Manikpoor (my humble birthplace—Editor) forty miles west of Allahabad on Ganges. Alauddin was a boorish ignorant man and yet as related by historian Ferishta “palaces, mosques, universities, baths, musoleum, forts and all kinds of public and private buildings seem to rise as if by magic. Neither did there in any age, appear such a concourse of learned men from all parts. Forty five doctors, skilled in science were professors in the Universities (with his great conquest and his administrative abilities the title of Sikandar Sani which he engraved on his coin does not seem to be inappropriate—Editor).

The Tughlaqs who succeeded the Khiljis were no less behind in the patronage of learning. Of the College with Masjids built by Firuz Shah one was near the tomb of Fateh Khan, known as the Qadam Sharif with an adjacent Masjid and a reservoir to perpetuate the memory of Fateh Khan who died in 1374. Another college was at Ferozabad and known as Feroz Shahi Madarsah. The brilliant description by Barni gives us to understand that both in literary reputation and in the beauty of its architecture and finish, it far surpassed all the Indian Madarsahs of the time. There were separate apartments in the college for the reception and accommodations of the

travellers, who attracted by its reputations paid visits from distant countries. The college was also noted for bounty and charity to the poor and the needy, for in its masjid they received the help they wanted. There was a suitable provision for the bestowal of stipends and scholarships upon the successful students, and over and above these, every inmate of the Madarsah, be he a student, professor or traveller lodging there, receiving a fixed daily allowance for its maintenance. All these expenses were defrayed out of the state endowments as well as in this particular case, out of the sums of money that were set apart by the State for being given in charity, to contribute to the well being of the poor. The Madarsah was a very commodious building embellished with lofty domes and situated in an extensive garden adorned with alleys and avenue and all human art combined with nature to make the place fit for meditation.

In the reign of Feruz Shah there flourished many learned men, philosophers and jurists, some of whom are:

Maulana Alim Andpathi, the author of a lengthy and copious work on law and religion.

Maulana Khwajgi, the preceptor of Qazi Shahabuddin Daulatabadi.

Maulana Ahmed Thaneswari and Qazi Abdul Muqtadir Shanihi, the latter of whom besides possessing vast knowledge, could compose excellent poetry, his Arabic verses surpassing Persian. Ainul Mulk the author of popular work. A striking provision made by Sultan Feroz is another proof of the generosity of this monarch. No age is without a few learned and educated

men who are painfully in their eternal want of pence by being out of employ or otherwise. Some of them out of shame would not make their necessities known, and so the Sultan gave an order to the Kotwal and the district officers under him that they should bring before the Emperor, after making enquiries about them, if necessary, such of them as were in want; and these men of letters were provided for government establishments.

With the invasion of Timur a barren period of anarchy and unrest followed, when several local dynasties were established, the last of these Lodi dynasty, the Lodi had one brilliant literary man Sultan Sikandar a poet, who highly appreciated literary merit and gave great encouragement to learning. He occasionally composed verses under the pen name, Gulrukh. He used to submit his verses to Sheikh Jamal the author of *Siyarularifin* for its opinion. His dewan is made up of eight or nine thousand couplets. He insisted that all his military officers should be educated. He established colleges, some of which he founded on the ruins of Hindu temples and shrines which he destroyed in Marwar and Mathura.

Sikandar's reign is remarkable for the fact that the Hindus for the first time applied themselves to the study of Persian, and the origin of Urdu or Hindustani language which dates from this period, tells us that there must have been intercourse long ago, and there were not wanting stray cases of the Hindu prosecuting studies of the Mohamedan languages.

Under the auspices of Sikandar, the writing, translation and compilation of books took place under his orders,

the *Argar Mahabedah* or science of medicine and treatment of diseases was translated and received the title of *Tibbe Sikandari*. This book, says Abdullah was the foundation of the practice of the physicians of Hind, and was thus brought into general use.

Among the Bahmani princes of Deccan, Mahmoud Shah himself was a poet and wrote some elegant verses. He was patron of learning and many poets of Arabia and Persia came to his court and partook of his liberality. The Sultan founded a Madarsah in the Deccan in 1378 A.C. for the education of orphans. They were provided with board and lodging at Government expenses and learned professors were engaged for their tuition in the college. He also invited the Hafiz of Shiraz to his Court and when he abandoned the voyage on account of its terror, he sent a thousand pieces of gold to Mohammad Qassim Mashhadi to purchase for Hafiz those products of Ind that would be most acceptable to the celebrated bard.

This prince was the father of poor and helpless, and for the education of orphans established schools in several cities of the dominions, viz. Gulbarga, Dabul, Bidar, Ellichpore, Daulatabad, Chaul, and many other places. Firuz another prince of this dynasty surpassed him in learning and erudition and used to send ships every year from the port of Goa and Chaul to different countries particularly to invite to his court men celebrated for learning. One of the many learned men assembled in his court, we hear Mulla Ishaq Sarhindi, who was famous for his wit and scholarship. He was a great lover of astronomy, and for accurate stellar observations caused

in 1407 A.C. an observatory to be built on the summit of the pass near Daulatabad. The work was under the supervision of the astronomer Hakim Hussain Gilani, whose death put a stop to its completion.

Saiyyid Mohammad Gesu Daraz had a great reputation for his vast learning and Feruz went to meet him. The king with his natural keenness could see through the learned veneer and found him deficient. His successor Ahmed, built for him a magnificent college near Gulbarga. The succeeding kings were not noted much for their literary enterprise or learning, until Muhammad Shah Bahmani II. The education of this prince was under the supervision of Khwajaa Jahan, who appointed Badrey Jahan Shustari, a celebrated scholar of that age as his tutor. The prince made considerable progress in his studies, so that next to Feruz Bahmani, he was the most learned king that ever wielded the scepter of the Bahmani kingdom.

A noteworthy even of his reign is the literary magnificence of Mahmud Gawan, the minister. He was himself a very learned man, a good writer both in prose and verse, and had few equals in his knowledge of mathematics. The *Rauzatul Insha* and some poems from his pen are still to be found in the libraries of Deccan. His literary beneficence was, it is related, so widespread that there was scarcely a town or a city in the Deccan the learned men of which have not derived advantage from him. There in the Deccan many remains of public works accomplished by him with his own resources, amongst may be mentioned the famous college at Bidar

built by him two years before his death. The college had a mosque attached to it in order that religion might go hand in hand with secular learning. At the time of historian Ferishta, the whole college was as entire as if just finished, but nowadays it has lost the beauty through mutilation by explosion of gun powder, which took place when Aurangzeb used it as magazine and a barrack. The college was equipped with a library for the use of students, containing 3,000 volumes.

Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapoor (1534-57) in whose court lived the great historian Mohammad Qassim Ferishta had built a library which is still found in Bijapoor in the Asari Mahal of which Mr. Fergusson tells us "some of its books are curious and interesting to any one acquainted with Arabic and Persian literature. All the most valuable manuscripts were, it is said, taken away by Aurangzeb in cart loads, and what remains are literally a remnant, but a precious one to the person incharge of the building who shows them with a mournful pride and regret."

In the royal dynasty of Golkunda, the name of Mohammad Quli Qutub Shah stands high for his encouragement of learning and education. In the middle of Haidarabad he built an elegant Masjid and the Char Minar—the latter structure being a quadrangle with four arcades, each arch occupying the whole space between the minarets at its corners. Over the middle there is a dome under which a fountain plays with its jet of clear water. Each minaret is about 220 ft. in height contains apartments for the use of its professors and students of the college there. It is

one of the most splendid buildings in the city, and a brilliant specimen of Saracenic architecture. This college was seen by Thevonot the traveller who visited India about 1660 A.D. and has admired it in his work. Besides this Madarsah the king built several other colleges, and public seminaries all of which were properly furnished and for which learned professors with liberal remuneration for their services were appointed. One of the colleges stood in the vicinity of Haiderabad.

Over and above the bigger colleges, there were in southern India the primary schools which were held in the house of the masters.

Sultan Mahmoud Khilji of the royal dynasty of Malwa was a great promoter of learning and literature. During the whole of his long reign for over thirty years, he gave encouragement to learned men, so that Malwa rose to be a great resort of literary men. Many distinguished philosophers not only came from other countries to this place but were also turned out by many colleges that Mahmoud founded in different parts of his dominion. Malwa according to Ferishta could bear a fair comparison with Shiraz or Samarkand for literary excellence.

One of the many colleges that owed their existence to their ruler stood in Mandu opposite the Masjid of Sultan Hoshang. It was in front of this College that he built a pillar seven stories high after his return from a combat with Rana Kambha of Chittor.

A very learned man of his time in Malwa was Sheikh Chand. Mahmoud was a man of literary tastes. He used to devote the leisure hours to hearing histories, memoirs

of the kings of the world.

In the reign of Ghiasuddin of Malwa, we find education of the ladies in his harem was cared for. School mistresses were appointed to instruct them.

Nasir Khan the second sovereign of Khandesh was fortunate in having in Sheikh Zainuddin the disciple and successor of Burhanuddin, as his priest. They were men of great repute and learning, being principals of the great Madarsah of Daultabad. Burhanpoor the capital of Khandesh had at least one Madarsah. The city stands on the bank of river Tapti, and the remains of the College were seen by the compiler of Oriental Manual (1840).

The kingdom of Khandesh during the existence of an independent principality found a patron of letters in Nasir Khan Faruqi who influenced its destiny for about forty years. He invited learned men from many countries and gave great encouragement in the promotion of literature.

While Khandesh was being thus raised to a high position in the literary world, Jaunpore was becoming at the same time a great seat of learning under Ibrahim Sharqi. It was here that Farid, afterwards Sher Shah, received education at one of its colleges about a century later, when Jaunpore continued to be an educational centre. Farid in a letter to his father wrote that it was a better place than Sasaram.

Ibrahim Sharqi was a famous patron of learning whom several books were dedicated by various authors. In his time there flourished many learned men such as Qazi Shahabuddin Daulatabadi, who was called the king of sages

by his contemporaries. After his demise Maulana Sheikh Allahabad Jaunpuri made himself famous by his literary compositions. Another distinguished literary man was Zahir Dehlavi, to whom of the time of Sikandar Lodi had given the title of Zahir on account of freshness of his style. Maulana Hassan Naqshi, Maulana Ali Ahmed Nishani, and Nurul Haq were other famous literary magnates. Many books were written for him i.e. Fatwa Ibrahim Shahi, Irshad Shamsbazegha etc. During Ibrahim's reign (1402-1440 A.C.) the court of Jaunpore far outshone than that of Delhi, and was the resort of all learned men of the East.

About the middle of fifteenth century, Bibi Raji, the wife of Mahmoud Shah son of Sultan Ibrahim built a Jam-e-Masjid, a college and a monastery, and gave them the name of Namazgah. She also allotted stipends to students and professors. It was a veritable university town and was called Shiraz of India, even in the time of Mohammad Shah twenty colleges were left.

Of the kings of Multan, the name of Hassan Lingah will be remembered for the impetus he gave to education by erecting many colleges, in which were appointed the most distinguished scholars of the time. The prince was himself a learned man, and manifested his love of learning by the patronage of learned men. It is stated in Hadiqatul Aqalim that the Sultan once sent a man to Gujerat to inspect the splendid buildings. When the person reported that with all his wealth, the Sultan could not erect similar building in Multan, he was much disappointed. But the Wazir to console him said that

though Gujrat was noted for its buildings Multan was superior to it in learning.

Of the Royal house of Sindh, Shah Beg Arghun was exceedingly well read and is mentioned by many authors as a great promoter of literature while Kashmir could about fifty years ago boast of its ruler Zainul Abidin who equally encouraged literature and fine arts. Under the latter many treatise on music were written, and a code of laws was framed, engraved on copper plates, placed in public markets and halls of justice in order to give it currency. In Akbar's reign Hussain Khan, wali of Kashmir, built Madarsahs there, and gave as endowment pargana Asapoor (974 A.H. 1567 A.C.).

Muzaffar Shah II was a royal Maecenas of Gujrat. He promoted learning with great zeal and men of letters from Persia, Arabia and Turkey found it worthwhile to settle in Gujerat in his liberal reign.

In Bengal Governor Ghiyasuddin built a superb mosque, a college and a Carvanserai at Lakhnauti soon after his election to the Masnad of Bengal. He was a liberal encourager of arts and bestowed ample pensions to the learned. The first Bengali rendering of Mahabharat was ordered by Nasir Shah of Bengal (1282-1325 A.C.) and whom the great poet Vidyapati has immortalised by dedicating to him one of his songs. Vidyapati also makes a respectful reference to Sultan Ghiyasuddin II of Bengal (1367-73). He was himself a poet and his tutor of theology was Qazi Hamiduddin of Nagore. Emperor Hussain Shah was a great patron of Bengali. Maladhar Basu was appointed by him to translate the

Bhagwat Puran in Bengali. He also founded a college as memorial to the famous saint Qutubul Alam. There were ruins of quadrangular building on the north bank of Sagar Dighi in Gaur which are said to have been Madarsah probably built by Hussain Shah. From the ruins it can be seen that the Madarsah was of elegant shape and considerable size and built of marble and granite different in character from those found in any part of Gaur. Parangal Khan, a general of Hussain Shah and his son Chhutey Khan have made themselves immortal by associating their names with the Bengali translation of a portion of Mahabharat.

The promotion of learning and arts under the Moghals received its impetus by monarch's own literary tastes. Babur the founder of the Moghal dynasty was the first to create a public works department under Saiyed Maqbar Ali which continued through the reigns of succeeding Moghals. He was entrusted among other duties, with that of conducting postal service, the publication of a Gazette, and the building of schools and colleges. That the educational works received attention of Government appears from being made into an item of duty of a state department. Of the learned men of Babur's time may be mentioned Sheikh Zain Khwafi who translated the Waqai Babari, Maulana Shahabuddin and Maulana Baqai. Babur was interested in painting and took with him to India all specimens he could collect from the library of his ancestors, some of which were taken back to Persia by Nadir Shah after the conquest of Delhi. The practice of illustrating books was introduced in his time in India.

Humayoun loved to study astronomy and geography, and wrote dissertations on the nature of the elements. For his own use he caused to be constructed both terrestrial and celestial globes. He composed good verses. He was so fond of books that even during expedition he carried a select library with him. His literary turn of mind is further manifested by the use he made of Sher Mandal. It was built by Sher Shah in the Purana Qila and used as a house of pleasure. Humayoun converted it into library. It is from the step of this library that he slipped and fell down unconscious and died few hours after. He built a college at Delhi of which Sheikh Hussain was professor. Under Akbar, Mahabharat was ordered to be translated in Persian in 1582 A.C. The translation of Ramayana into Persian was completed by Mulla Abdul Qadir in 1589, after a labour of four years. The Atharva Veda was translated into Persian by Haji Ibrahim Sarhindi, the Lilavati by Faizi, the Tajak a treatise on astronomy by Mukammal Khan Gujrati, the history of Kashmir in Sanskrit by Maulana Shah Mohammad Shahabadi. The Hari-bans was also translated into Persian by Nasrullah Mustafa and Maulana Hassan Waezi rendering Panchtantra, which was Kalilah Damnah into Persian. Faizi translated Nal-daman into Persian verse after the model of Layla Majnun.

While the Court was at Shergarh, otherwise called Qannauj, Mullah Abdul Qadir was given instruction by the Emperor to translate the Sinhasan Battisi into prose and verse. When the translation was finished it was called Kherad Afzai Namah, a name which contains the date

of its translation. It was then placed in the royal library. The Shah Namah of Firdausi was translated in Hindustani. So also many Arabic books like Hayatul Hayawan, Majmaul Buldan, Jameul Rashidi, and we learn that Abul Fazl was charged with the task of translating the gospel.

A part of the astronomical table of Ulugh Beg was translated under the supervision of Amir Fatahullah Shirazi and also the Sanskrit work Kish Joshi, the Ganga Dhar and Mahesh Mahanandi under Abul Fazl.

Akbar's taste for fine arts was no less than his love for learning. From the very commencement of his reign, he encouraged painting, and in order that a number of painters might by emulation among themselves be more and more proficient in their art, he established a painting gallery in which they might assemble and ply their art. Every week the Daroghas brought to His Majesty the performance of every artist and the emperor rewarded him with bonuses and increase of salary in proportion to his merit. The most eminent painters attached to the Royal Courts were:

Mir Syed Ali Tabrizi, Daswant, Basawn, Kesu, Lall, Mukund, Mushkin, Farrukh the Qalmaq, Madhu, Jagan, Mahesh, Khemkaran, Tara, Sanwalah, Haribans and Ram. The portraits of all the principal officers of the Court were made by the Court painters and were bound into thick volumes. Persian books in prose and verse were richly illuminated by eminent artist. Dastan Amir Humzah in twelve volumes was profusely illustrated by as many as 1,400 paintings; and similar among many others the fol-

lowing works were embellished viz. Shengiznamah. Zafar Namah Iqbalnamah, Razm Namah, Nal Damyanti, Kalelah Damanah.

Akbar's reign marks a new epoch for the system introduced for imparting education in schools and colleges. The innovations and improvements that were introduced were the outcome of the liberality of the emperor, which made its influence felt in so many other directions. We see in him among the Muslim monarchs eager to further the education of the Muslims and the Hindus alike. We also notice, for the first time, the Hindus and Mohamadans studying in the same schools and colleges. Besides this reform, the monarch introduced some other change in the modes of study, in the curriculum, etc. the good results of which made Abul Fazl pride himself on the fact "all civilised nations have schools for the education of youths; but Hindustan is particularly famous for its seminaries.

The succeeding Moghal emperors all patronised learning and founded schools and colleges. To Shah Jehan is traced a distinct and important contribution to educational works, viz, foundation of Imperial College at Delhi in the vicinity of famous Jamey Masjid. As recorded by Carr Stephen—"To the north of Jam e Masjid (of Delhi) was the Imperial dispensary, and to the south was the Imperial College; both these buildings fell into ruin in 1857, and were levelled to the ground soon after that event. They were built with the Mosque in 1060 (1650 A.C.) His son Dara Shikoh who mastered both Arabic and Persian and was proficient in Sanskrit, trans-

lating into Persian some of the best works of Sanskrit. One of his tutor was Sheikh Herwi of Khorassan, a pupil of Maulana Abdusalim, a very learned man. Prince Dara in his later days, showed great learnings for the religion and institution of Hindus, was constantly seen in company of Brahmans, Jogis and Sanniasis and had great respect for Hindu learning. The Vedas inspired him with reverence and he collected learned Hindus from all parts of the country to translate them. The religions of the Hindus made a deep impression on him, he imbibed its doctrines, and engraved in Hindi letters the word *Prabhu* upon the rings of diamond, ruby etc. He was a voluminous writer, being the author of the following books:—

1—Sirrul Asrar being the Persian rendering of *Upanishad*. 2—Translation of *Bhagwat Gita*. 3—Translation of jog Vashista Ramayana. 4—Muntakhabat Baba Lall Dass. 5—Safinatul Aulia. 6—Sakinatul Aulia. 7—Nadirul Nukat. 8—Hasnatul Arifin. 9—Resalae Haq Numa. 10—Majmaul Bahrain. About his talented brother Aurangzeb whose letters are Persian classics, Mr. Keene in his Moghal Empire, thus sums up his educational work along with his other good deeds. "Aurangzeb abolished capital punishment, encouraged agriculture, founded numberless colleges and schools and systematically constructed roads and bridges. Of these educational institution few are known at this distant date, but there is the evidence that he once confiscated the buildings belonging to the Dutch in Farangee Mahal (Frank's quarter), a ward of the city of Lucknow and made them over to Musliman for a Madarsah. He sent orders to Makramt

Khan, Dewan of Gujrat as he did to other Dewans in his dominion that all students from the lowest to highest forms, those who read the Mizan as well as those who read the Kashshaf be given pecuniary aid from the treasury with the sanction of the professors of Colleges and of the Sadar of the place. Orders were also sent that three professors in Ahmedabad, Patan and Surat and forty-five students in Ahmedabad, be added to the existing number. In 1678 he sanctioned a sum of money to repair the Madarsah in Gujrat. It also appears that Ikramuddin Khan Sadar built a college in A.D. 1697 in Ahmedabad, at the cost of Rs. 1,24,000 and asked Aurangzeb for pecuniary help. In response the emperor gave Jagirs of Village Sundra (pargana Sanoly) and villages Sihuh (pargana Kari).

Aurangzeb took steps to educate the Bohras by appointing teachers for them and by monthly examinations, the result of which were reported to the Emperor. As a penalty, however, for the troublesome conduct of some of them, the Emperor ordered that the expenses of their education which was compulsory, should be borne by the community. Besides the College of Akarmuddin Khan Sadar, there were other Madarsahs established by private individuals. Qazi Rafiuddin Mohammad founded a college in Bayana close to Qazion Ki Masjid. It bears the inscription 1080 A.H. (1670 A.C.)

During Aurangzeb's reign Sialkot was the great seat of Muslim learning. Learned men from various parts of the country resorted to the place. Moulvi Abdullah taught in a school set up by his father Moulvi Abdul

Hakim who was himself an eminent scholar. It should be observed here that the reputation of Sialkot as the place of learning dated back to the time of Akbar. It was first due to the fact that it was a seat of learning where papers were extensively used that Sialkot also became distinguished for that commodity, specially the Mansinghi and the silk paper which were good in texture, clean and durable. They were manufactured in three hamlets forming suburbs of the city, exported to other parts of the country and largely used in the Courts of Delhi Emperors.

Learning and promotion of learning in Modern times.

Both Iran and Afghanistan did not lag behind in founding universities and academies for western learning. The University of Tehran was founded in 1834 and that of Afghanistan in about 1924 with Royal academies. In India the British gave no encouragement at first to Western learning, and Hastings only founded a Mohammadan Madarsah at Calcutta which imparted education on old and obsolete lines. This policy was changed soon after and it was due to Macaulay that Western Education was introduced in India, and modern Universities were founded in which both Muslims and Hindus were taught science and arts through English medium. Dr. Sir Saiyyid Ahmed Khan gave further impetus to western learning by founding a separate college for Muslims at Aligarh in the year about 1877. This college has now developed into a full fledged University of Aligarh having about five thousand Muslim students on its roll which are drawn from all parts of India, even from Persia and Afghanistan. It has the

faculties of Medicine, Engineering, theology, and science and its degrees are recognised by the Government. He also founded a scientific society at Aligarh for the translation of books on modern science in Urdu but it did not make any progress for the simple reason that Urdu or for that matter any other Indian language was found quite inadequate to assimilate all scientific terms, moreover, English having been made medium of instruction in schools and colleges, there was no immediate necessity of translation. The loyalist policy of Dr. Sir Syed, was however repugnant to self respecting Muslims, and during the agitation of Khilafat movement sponsored by Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Mohammad Ali founded a parallel college at Aligarh, calling it Jamia Millia which drew many professors and students of Aligarh University away who could not see eye to eye with the Sir Syed's tradition. This college soon after shifted to Delhi and at present it is housed at Qarol Bagh some eight miles from Delhi. Both financially and intellectually it is sound and is in good progress. It also confers degrees though these are not recognised by the Government.

The old Madarsahs continued their existence in precarious way and drew only those students who could not afford education in Government schools. All these Arabic Madarsahs of which some are very famous, like those in Saharanpoor and Moradabad impart education in Arabic curriculum which was current in old Nizamia University of Baghdad and have not made any change. The fact that all such Madarsahs impart education not only free but provide students with food and clothing

(being supported by the munificence of charitable Muslims), a very large number of poor students are naturally drawn to it and thus illiteracy at least was to some extent mitigated among the Muslims. That the product of these Madarsahs are not always fools and unprogressive is proved by the fact that nearly all leading writers of early this century were the products of these Madarsahs and one of these Shibli Nomani, himself a great author who had scores of books to his credit and who was commissioned by the late Begum of Bhopal to compile the standard biography of Prophet Mohammad on new scientific lines—(alas, this biography was left unfinished by him as he died soon after and though completed by his pupil Syed Suleiman Nadwi afterwards, shows neither research nor scholarship) thought of making a compromise between western and eastern learning and bridge up the gap for the Muslims. He founded Nadwatul Ulema at Lucknow, and although the products of this school are better than those of old madarsahs in both learning and wide vision, they are still below par to the products of modern Universities. Shibli Nomani also founded an academy in his home town. It publishes his books and those written by his pupils and members of his academy and a monthly Journal called Maarif. It was under the direction of Syed Suleiman Nadwi but since his migration to Pakistan, it is looked after in general management by Massood Ali Nadwi who has recently secured a Government aid of about Rs. 60,000 and has even succeeded in making our Prime Minister Pandit Jawahar Lall, its patron and life member by obtaining a princely donation of Rs. 1,000 from him.

The question whether the Muslim community in India is educationally backward is often raised but seldom discussed as it should be, and it is generally affirmed in the affirmative by interested party. This process of repeated affirmation without proof has gone on for so long time that any one showing the slightest symptoms of incredulity is immediately branded as fanatic. And yet it cannot be doubted that an assertion like this requires to be tested from time to time, to see if, assuming that at one time the community was backward, it has not made up the deficiency in the meanwhile. Far from doing so, the Muslim politicians and publicists continue to repeat the statement regarding their backwardness because they are shrewd enough to realise that thereby they can peg a claim to the preferential treatment and secure a number of Jobs for their co-religionists in the educational department. The Hindus, on the other hand, have accepted in an unquestioning spirit the correctness of this statement, since their communal vanity is tickled by the thought that they are far ahead of the despised Muslims. The officials, too, have been actively interested from political consideration in fostering this wrong notion among the Muslims. I think this attitude of blind faith should now be discarded. In order to help our readers to form an independent opinion on the subject we are giving the necessary data in a convenient form. It may be added that the figures relating to male populations and the percentage of illiterates among the two major communities are taken from the Census report 1921; and that the general report on Public instruction, U.P. for 1923-1924,

containing the figures relating to scholars.

The male population of these provinces (exclusive of Indian states) was in round figures of 2,38 lakhs, of whom 34 lakhs were Muslims, little over one lakh Christians, and 203 lakhs Hindus. The latter may be sub-divided into high caste section and the backward and depressed sections total in roughly 46 lakhs. The figures for the backward and depressed section of the Hindu community is given on the authority of Mr. Martin who was the Census Commissioner for India in 1921, he gives merely an estimate in his Census report for India (part I, chapter on Caste), since the exact figures were not available in the provincial report. I am inclined to consider Mr. Martin's estimate as rather high, but it would do for our present purpose.

Turning now to scholars, we find that in the 1923-1924, there were roughly, 6,200 scholars reading in various universities and arts colleges (including associated Intermediate colleges), of whom about 1,600 or nearly 26 per cent, were Muslims. Nearly 93,000 boys were receiving English or vernacular secondary education; and of these, over 15,000 or nearly 16 per cent were Mohammadans. Similarly among 8,86,000 male scholars attending vernacular primary schools, 170,000 or 19 per cent were Muslim boys. What has been stated above may now be summarized. Although the Muslim males constitute 14.3 per cent, of the total male population of this province, the percentage of Muslim scholars to the total number of scholars was 26 in the universities and arts colleges, 16 in the secondary schools and 19 in the vernacular primary schools.

In view of the appointments by government of a com-

mittee to enquire into the educational "backwardness" of the Muslim boys in primary schools, a more detailed analysis of figures relating to primary education appears to be desirable. The Committee was charged with the duty of enquiring into, and reporting on, their backwardness in the matter of primary education with a view to bringing them up to a general level, i. e. the level so far attained by province as a whole, and not by any particular community or one of its sections. Be that as it may, we shall now proceed to prove that judged by any standard, to say that Muslims are educationally backward is nothing short of the abuse of language, as following table will show:—

U.P. (British)	In round figures		Scholars	Percent- age of 2 & 3
	Male population			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
1—All Communities ..	2,38,00,000	8,86,000	3.7	
2—Hindus ..	2,03,00,000	7,13,000	3.5	
(a) High Castes ..	1,57,00,000	6,69,000	4.4	
(b) Lower Castes ..	46,00,000	23,000	.5	
3—Muslims ..	34,00,000	1,70,000	5.0	
4—Indian Christians ..	86,000	3,200	3.7	

The above table shows that the percentage of the Muslim community attending primary schools in the province is higher than of the Hindu community as a whole or any one of its two sections. It is also far in excess of the provincial level which is 3.7 per cent achieved on a purely voluntary basis.

A large mass of Muslim community is indeed very backward. According to Census report U.P. of 1911 and

1921, the number of literates per thousand males among the various section of the community was as follows:— Saiyeds 210, Moghals 145, Rajputs 114, Sheikhs 107, Pathan 88, Neo Muslim 40, Gujars 19, Julahas 30, Qassab 19, Dhunia 12, Bhangi 5, Darzi 4, Faqirs 3, Manihar 3, Turkiya Chamar 3, Pasi 3, Kunjara 2, Nat 2, Bhisti 1.3 and Gaddi 1. It is no good multiplying the list. What has been stated should suffice to satisfy even an unbeliever that just as there is a backward section among the Hindus, in the same way there is a backward section among the Muslims. The full significance of the backwardness of Indian (low class Hindus particularly) can be grasped only when it is realised that only 4 out of 100 boys of school age belonging to this section are at present undergoing a primary course, as against 40 for the Muslims, 30 for all communities in the province and 28 in the case of high caste Hindus.

There is yet another test by which the relative progress made by the two major communities in these provinces can be judged—the test of illiteracy. The following table speaks for itself:—

Year	No. of literates per 1,000 males of 5 years and over.	
	Hindus.	Muslims.
1911	58	59
1921	70	74

The above bald statement shows in a conclusive manner that decennial period ending 1921, the Muslims were not only able to maintain their position, but succeeded in improving it. They were relatively backward only in 17

districts in 1911 and 13 in 1921, as compared with the Hindus. But in order to appreciate the extent of the advantage they had over the Hindus, a detailed study of the figures districtwise is necessary. For instance, in 1921, Allahabad had 68 literates among the Hindus and 130 among the Muslims, per 1,000 males, while in Lucknow the numbers were 58 and 165, respectively.

CHAPTER VII

STATISTICAL SURVEY

I

General remarks.

Despite our best efforts we failed to obtain any detailed official figures of the population of Persia and Afghanistan. The Embassies of these states at New Delhi were approached but they have not been helpful to us, even taking the trouble of referring to us any of their country's publications and we regretfully draw the conclusion that both these states have not yet reached that state of civilisation to supply us any statistical materials in which every civilised state now takes pride. We hunted for any Gazetteer, Year Books, Almanac which some enterprising publishers of these countries might be publishing but we drew blank from the current or past bibliographies issued by Messrs. Luzac Coy., Oriental booksellers, London. This is really a very shameful and painful reflection for us that the Islamic brand still has the distinction of medieval backwardness among the community of modern progressive civilised nations. However, we have to content ourselves from the information of the foreigners. Rand MacNally's World Atlas and Gazetteer, latest edition, gives the population of Persia as 18,387,000 (page 20) and that of Afghanistan as 12,000,000 (page 16). As

there are appreciable number of Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, Bahais in Persia, we will take the Muslim population in round figures of 18 millions. Afghans are of course cent per cent Muslims and the 12 million figures represent Muslim population of Afghanistan.

As regards India and Pakistan, the population of Pakistan at the time of its separation from India was calculated at about eighty millions (Nalanda Year Book, 1949 edition), leaving the Hindus out which are in appreciable number in Eastern Pakistan, the total Muslim population would be in the region of 70 millions. According to official figures of 1951, 35 million Muslims live in India. Adding five million population of Kashmir, Ceylon and Nepal, the total population would come to eleven crore. This is palpably wrong from the point of natural growth and figures have certainly been manipulated by enumerators in both countries. The Hindu enumerators have deliberately deflated the Muslim figures and have unwarrantedly excluded a very large number of Muslims who in social habits differ very little from the Hindus. The same will apply to Muslim enumerators. This was quite natural in the circumstances when India was passing under the furious waves of communalism, and people were murdered both figuratively and literally for the sake of political ambitions to minimize the strength of their opponents. For the deflation of Hindu population in Pakistan (the latest official figures show that Muslims there are about 75 millions) we append a comment from a learned Hindu gentleman (see section IV) which applies *mutatis mutandis* to India in case of Muslims as

well as Christians. A sample of the following comparative figures in 1941 and 1951 will eloquently pronounce how figures have been cooked by interested persons, taking even into accounts all those circumstances explained in the official communique (section III).

Madras	..	3,896,452	4,538,136
Bombay	..	1,920,368	2,906,887
U.P.	..	8,416,308	9,026,992
Bihar	..	4,716,314	4,564,466
C.P., Berar	..	988,697	800,781
Orissa	..	146,301	176,338
Assam	..	3,412,479	1,996,456
Delhi	..	304,971	99,501
Total		.. 23,531,890	24,009,557

Or an increase of about 2 per cent only, when ordinarily the increase is fifteen per cent. (The population of Muslims in Burma was half a million in 1921, and today it is one and half million.) Accounting the circumstances mentioned in the official communique, 10 per cent could be a fair increase and this brings the population not 35 million but 45 million. Therefore for the impartial assessment of the figures we are giving in detail the census of 1921 (section II) when there was less chance of manipulation by any interested body. Calculating on that basis the total present day population both in India and Pakistan could not be less than 120 millions including Kashmir, Ceylon (ten per cent Muslims); Atolls of Lakadiv and Maldiv (wholly Muslim) and Nepal (about two per cent Muslim). The grand total of Muslim population therefore for this continent is 150 millions.

II

THE MOSLEM POPULATION OF INDIA AND BURMA, CENSUS OF 1921

ALL INDIA AND BURMA	68,735,233	21.7	per cent of popu-	lation
<i>Provinces</i>	<i>59,444,331</i>			
1. Ajmer-Merwara	101,776	20.5	"	"
2. Andamans and Nicobars	4,104	15.1	"	"
3. Assam	2,202,460	27.78	"	"
4. Baluchistan	367,282	91.7	"	"
5. Bengal	25,210,802	53.5	"	"
6. Bihar and Orissa	3,690,182	9.8	"	"
7. Bombay (Presidency)	3,820,153	19.7	"	"
Aden	45,055			
Bombay	1,369,075			
Sindh	2,406,023	73.00	"	"
8. Burma	500,592	3.84	"	"
9. Central Provinces and Berar	563,574	3.66	"	"
10. Coorg	13,021	7.9	"	"
11. Delhi (Province)	141,758	29.03	"	"
12. Madras	2,840,488	6.7	"	"
13. N. W. Frontier Province	2,062,786	91.	"	"
14. Punjab	11,444,321	50.6	"	"
15. United Provinces	6,481,032	14.8	"	"
<i>States and Agencies</i>	<i>9,290,902</i>			
16. Assam, Manipur State	17,487			
17. Baluchistan States	366,195	91.7	"	"
18. Baroda State	162,328	7.5	"	"
19. Bengal States	275,322			
20. Bihar and Orissa States	16,095			
21. Bombay States	840,675			
22. Central India Agency	331,520			
23. Central Provinces States	18,458			
24. Gwalior State	176,883			
25. Hyderabad State	1,298,277	10.5	"	"
26. Kashmir State	2,548,514	76.8	"	"
27. Madras State	363,992	6.6	"	"
28. Mysore State	340,461			
29. N. W. F. P. Agencies and Tribal Areas	21,337	39.1	"	"
30. Punjab States	1,369,062	9.1	"	"
31. Rajputana Agency	900,341		"	"
32. Sikkim State	20			
33. United Provinces States	243,935	21.4	"	"

AJMER-MERWARA: 101,776 Moslems out of 495,271 inhabitants. They are mostly from the Rajputs, Jats and Gujars. The tomb of Mu'in ad-Din Chishti (d. 1236) is found at Ajmir. He founded the Chishti order in India.

ANDAMANS AND NICOBARS: 4,104 out of 27,086 inhabitants are Moslems.

ASSAM—I. (Province): 2,202,460 Moslems out of 7,606,230 inhabitants. **II. (State of Manipur)** 17,487 Moslems out of 384,016 inhabitants. Moslems chiefly around Sylhet, where Jalal ad-Din preached and was buried, 1384. The low caste of Moslems is called *Matias*.

BALUCHISTAN—I. (Province): 367,282 Moslems out of 420,648 inhabitants. **II (States),** 366,195 Moslems out of 378,977 inhabitants. The total number of Sunnis is about 600,000; heterodox *Dhikris* or *Mahdawis* and *Isma'ilians*, about 133,000. Moslems are chiefly Brahuis by race.

BARODA: State, 162,328 Moslems out of 2,126,522 inhabitants.

BENGAL:I. (Province) 25,210,802 Moslems out of 46,695,536 inhabitants. **II. (States),** 275,322 Moslems out of 869,926 inhabitants. The Islamization of Bengal was due to the governors from 1202, after the Ghorid conquest, who had their headquarters at Gaur, (Lakhnauti). Jatmall, son of Raja Kans, accepted Islam and mounted the throne in 1414 with the name of Jalal ad-Din Mohammed Shah. Murshid Quli Khan founded the Line of the Nawabs of Murshidabad. He converted many Hindus. The majority of the Moslems aside from the Pathans, is composed of Bengali converts, Shaikhs coming from the

low-caste Julahas, or out-caste pariahs. The greater part are Sunnites of the Hanafite school. There are a few Shi'ites at Dacca and Burdwan. The low-castes of the South and East profess an aggressive and fanatical form of Islam, and are termed Wahhabites: notably the sect of the Faraidiya founded by Shariat Allah and his son Dudhu Miyan (d. 1862), who attacked British forces and rejected saint worship. They are found in the villages and are often called *Salafiya*, or *Ghair-Muqallid*. There are very important waqfs in Bengal.

BIHAR AND ORISSA: I. (Province), 3,690,182 Moslems out of 34,002,189 inhabitants. II. (States), 16,095 Moslems out of 3,959,669 inhabitants. There is a minority of Moslems around Patna which is imbued with a fervent and aggressive religious zeal, of Wahhabite tendencies. At Gaya are found some Shi'ites. There is a khanqah or monastery of Shaikh Kabir Darwish (d. 1717) at Sasaram; and a library of Khuad Baksh (d. 1878) at Bankipore. The tomb of Shah Arzaki (d. 1623) is venerated. There is a group of some 20,000 Kabirpanthis at Sambalpur, Orissa.

BOMBAY AND SIND: I. (Presidency), 3,820,153 Moslems out of 19,348,219 inhabitants. II. (States), 840,675 Moslems out of 7,409,429 inhabitants. Sind has a majority of Moslems many of whose ancestors came from Arabia. The center of the old Moslem province was Thatta, site not known. Besides Sunnites there are found Bohoras, Khojas and Mahdavis or Dikris.

In Kachh the Moslems form 23 per cent of the population, and are mostly a semi-Moslem sect called the

Memans, converted about the 14th century.

Gujrat was a Moslem state from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. The chief Moslem city is Ahmedabad. The *Bohoras*, *Khojas* and *Mahdavis* are found here in addition to orthodox Sunnites.

On the coast of the Konkan are found Sunnite descendants and converts of Arab immigrants of the early centuries. They are called *Konkanies*. In Bombay there are 89 mosques, 77 for Sunnites, 8 for Bohoras, 2 for Khojas, and 1 for Mughals.

The Agha Khan, who is the head of the Isma'ilian Khojas, makes his headquarters in Bombay. He was the first president of the All-India Moslem League in 1906.

BURMA: 500,592 Moslems out of 13,169,099 inhabitants. They speak Burmese and Urdu, are largely Shaikhs from Bengal, and Zerbadis, that is, Moslems born of Burman mothers.

CENTRAL INDIA: 331,520 out of 5,997,023 inhabitants. The principal state is Bhopal, founded in 1707 by an Afghan Nawab.

CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR: I. (Province), 563,574 Moslems out of 13,912,760. II. (States), 18,458 Moslems out of 2,066,900.

COORG: 13,021 Moslems out of 163,838 inhabitants. Two-thirds of these Moslems are Mappillas and Shafi'ites, while the remainder are Hanafite Shaikhs.

DELHI: 141,758 Moslems out of 488,188 inhabitants.

GWALIOR STATE: 176,883 Moslems out of 3,186,075 inhabitants.

HYDERABAD STATE: 1,298,277 Moslems out of 12,471,770

inhabitants. The Moslem dynasty of the Nizam was founded by Subadar Asaf Jah (d. 1748). 83 per cent of the madrasas, 45 per cent of the secondary schools, and 42 per cent of the primary schools are Moslem. The important Osmania University, with its 20 professors, attempts to diffuse Arabic culture. It is producing a distinct literature in Urdu through its translation and publication of Western scientific and literary texts. There is an important colony of Hadramauti Arabs here who are *Shafi'ites*. The majority are *Sunnite Hanafites*. There are some *Shi'ites* and *Mahdavis*.

KASHMIR STATE: 2,548,514 Moslems out of 3,320,518 inhabitants. The country was Islamized about the 12th century by Isma'ilian missionaries, and in the 14th by Sunnite mystics, the most noted being Saiyid Ali Hamadani, who converted the dynasty in 1326 (Shams ad-Din Shah). The king Sikandar, nicknamed Butshikan or idol-breaker, (d. 1417) destroyed many temples.

In Jammu are found Rajput Moslems. To the North-East the people of Baltistan are Isma'ilians.

It is in Srinagar that the tomb of one Yus Asaf is found, which was located by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, of Qadian, in Khan Yar Street. It is this tomb which he and the adherents of the Ahmadiya sect declare is the real tomb of Jesus Christ.

There are many places of pilgrimage for Moslems in Kashmir, which are termed *ziarat*. Part are the tombs or sacred sites of indigenous, Hindu or Buddhistic, origin. Others are tombs of foreigners called *Saiyid pirzada*. There is also a local religious order of jugglers.

MADRAS AND THE COAST OF MALABAR: I. (Presidency), 2,840,488 Moslems out of 42,318,985 inhabitants. **II. (States),** 363,992 Moslems out of 5,460,312 inhabitants.

The Laccadive Islands are entirely Moslem with 10,600 inhabitants, Mappillas.

The Moslems of South India are of the Dravidian race. The Shaikh, Saiyid and Pathan classes numbering about 1,000,000 speak Urdu. The remainder use the following languages:

Malayalam (Mappillas)	1,000,000
Tamil	500,000
Telegu	100,000

Tamil is written in Arabic characters. The Mapillas of Malabar speak Malayalam. They are a mixed people, part Arab, and follow the law of ash-Shaf'i. Their chief religious heads are at Kandatti and Ponnani. At the latter place there is a well known school for the training of missionaries and converts.

N. W. FRONTIER: I. (Province), 2,062,786 Moslems out of 2,251,340 inhabitants. **II. (Agencies),** 21,337 Moslems out of 54,470 inhabitants.

The people are largely warlike tribes of Pathans from Afghanistan: Bannuchis, Dards, Marwats, Yusufzais, Niazis, Waziris, Ghilzais, Mohmands, Afridis, Orakzais. Some of the tribes are Sunnites: Bannuchis, Marwats; some are Wahhabites as the Yusufzais and Bonairs of Dir, and were connected with the *jihad* which was carried on against the Sikhs by Saiyid Ahmad of Rae Bareli in 1826. The rest are neo-Isma'ilians, having been converted since the twelfth

century. They are found in Baltistan (Moguls), Chitral, Pantal, Ludkho, Wakhan, Hunza, and Hazara. The Afridis who made a *jihad* against Great Britain in 1879 are of the Roshaniya sect, which was founded in the sixteenth century by Miyan Bayazid, or Pir Roshan. The Qadiriya order of the Sunnites has adherents in Dera Ghazi Khan.

PUNJAB: I. Province, 11,444,321 Moslems out of 20,685,024 inhabitants. II. States: 1,369,062 Moslems out of 4,416,036 inhabitants.

Of the Sikhs there are 2,294,207 in the province and 813,080 in the states.

The Punjab was invaded as far as Multan by the Arab general Mohammed bin Qasim about 712. At the end of the ninth century, a sect of Moslems known as Qarmatians, from al-Ahsa, founded a principality at Multan. This continued till the invasion of Mamud of Ghazna in the eleventh century, when an attempt was made to put an end to the heresy of the Qarmatians and Isma'ilians, and establish the orthodox Sunnite religion. Through the efforts of some of the conquerors and the Sufi preachers of Kuchh and Pakpatan most of the converts became Sunnites.

The work of the Sufis or mystics in attempting to bring about a reconciliation of Hinduism and Islam resulted in the creation of the curious syncretism of the Sikhs founded by Guru Nanak, who died in 1539.

Many low castes have been converted in mass to Sunnite Islam. The sect known as the Ditta Shahis (Arain), and also the Budla, still retain the Hindu customs.

The tombs of the saints of Uchh, Jalal Surkhposh (d. 1291) and Mohammed Ghawth (d. 1517), together with that at Pakpatan of Baba Farid Shakarganj (d. 1265) are greatly venerated.

The states having Moslem rulers are Bahawalpur, Firozpur, Laharu, Malerkotla, Chamba and Patawdi.

RAJPUTANA STATE: 900,341 Moslems out of 9,844,384 inhabitants.

In Malwa there were two Moslem dynasties between 1401-1530: the Ghoris and Khiljis, which have left their monuments at Mandu. The Bohoras are found at Ujjain.

The semi-Moslem sect of the Dadupanthis was founded in the sixteenth century.

The only Moslem ruler is the Raja of Tonk, of the Rajput Chauhan caste. Only ten per cent of his subjects are Moslems.

SIKKIM STATE: 20 Moslems out of 81,721 inhabitants.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH: I. Province, 6,481,032 Moslems out of 45,375,787 inhabitants. II. States: 243,935 Moslems out of 1,134,881 inhabitants.

The proportion of Moslems is only fourteen per cent, in spite of continuous Moslem administration from the fall of kingdom of Kanauj in the twelfth century; the sovereigns of Delhi, the Sharqi kings of Jaunpur (1394-1500), Mogul governors, nawabs of Oudh. Part of the family of the latter have been refugees in Baghdad since 1857.

Agra has 60,000 Moslems out of 185,000 people; Lucknow 95,000 out of 240,000, and Benares 50,000 out of 198,000. The Moslems are Sunnite Hanafites, Wahhabites (five per cent at Benares) and Shi'ites ("Twelvers"), who

are found chiefly in Lucknow, where they number sixteen per cent of the Moslem population. Lucknow is the center of Indian Shi'ites, because of the ancient Nawabs of Oudh, who erected the chief buildings there.

The Moslems of the province by origin are indicated as follows:

Arab: Sheykh: Qurayshi, Siddiqi, Faruqi, 'Uthmani and Ansari; Afghans: Yusufzais, Afridis, Ghoris, Lodis, and Sherwanis; Moguls or Qizilbash, and Hindu converts, Julahas.

The semi-Moslem sect of the *Kabirpanthis* has a center at Benares, and the *Stanamis* are found in Oudh.

There are four great educational centers for the Moslems: Aligarh, which is the modern reform center, where the Moslem university founded by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan is located; Deoband in the Saharanpur District, where the orthodox Sunnite madrasa Dar al-'Ulum is found; 'A'zamgarh, center of the moderate Sunnite reform movement; and Lucknow with its Shi'ite College affiliated with the Lucknow University, and the seminary *Madrasat-al-Wa'izin*.

Agra was the capital of Akbar (d. 1605). Here are found his tomb (at Sikandra) and the Taj Mahal. At Bahraich is found the tomb of the Ghaznavi Martyr prince Salar Mas'ud (d. 1033), which was uncovered in the fifteenth century. He is greatly venerated under the name of Ghazi Miyan.

There is one Moslem state at Rampur in Rohilkhand, which was founded by Pathans. The present Nawab is a Shi'ite. A well-known Arabic madrasa is found here, and also one of the best Arabic, Persian and Urdu libraries

of India. The Nawab is a great patron of Indo-Moslem music.

III

1951 CENSUS FIGURES ANALYSED

Exodus of Hindus from 'East Pakistan has been responsible for the increase in the Hindu population of West Bengal, says an analysis of the 1951 census figures.

The figures show that in U.P. for the first time since 1881, the Hindus have shown a rise in proportion to the total population while the Muslim population has shown a decline. This is explained by the exodus of Muslims to Pakistan and 'reversion to Hinduism of the imperfectly-converted Sikhs and Christians.' The population of Sikhs and Christians have shown a fall due to the same reason. An additional reason for a fall in the proportion of Christians is the migration of British nationals and of an appreciable number of Anglo-Indians from the State.

In Bihar the 1951 census figures show a large increase in the Hindu population compared to 1941 and decrease in the number of the Muslims. The former is explained by the fact that in 1941 the enumeration was by 'communities' while in the 1951 census, the enumeration has been according to the religion of the citizens. The absorption of tribals into Hindu and Christian religions also accounts for the fall in tribals and increase in the Christian and Hindu population. The decline in the number of Muslims is explained by migration to Pakistan.

In Orissa the quota contributed by each religion to the total population altered but little since 1921. A number of tribals returning themselves as Christians has

accounted for a slight fall in the proportion of Hindus and rise in the proportion of Christians.

Migration of Hindus from East Pakistan has been responsible for an increase in the Hindu population in West Bengal. The tribals returning themselves as Hindus in 1951, unlike in 1941 when they were enumerated as 'tribals', was another contributory cause for the increase in the figures of Hindu population.

The doubling in the number of Jains has been explained as due to the fact that Bengali trading classes, with the spread of education, were 'looking down upon their traditional occupations' and Jains and others were coming forward in increasing numbers to take their place. Increase in the number of Christians is also due to immigration and better recording of the religions of tribals.

The abnormal variation in the Hindu and tribal population of Assam in the last decade is explained by the variation in the method of enumeration between 1941 and 1951. The increase in the number of Christians was also due to a similar reason though proselytization was a contributory factor. But in the Lushai hills area, there has been a tendency in the opposite direction with Christians reverting to their old beliefs and sacrifices.

In Madras about 8,700 persons returned themselves as atheists, mostly from the Tamil districts. Salem district leading in this matter. This is probably due to the atheistic propaganda in recent years.

In Travancore-Cochin the Hindu population which has been steadily going down in proportion since 1901, when it formed 69.6 per cent. of the total population,

registered an increase of 0.9 per cent over the 59.3 per cent of the 1941 census. This increase was 'perhaps attributed to the effect of the Travancore Temple Entry Proclamation in 1936, throwing open all temples to the members of Hindu backward classes, followed by similar measures in Cochin and the work of Kerala Hindu Mission and Arya Samaj.'

The Christian population continued to maintain its steady increase which was attributed to natural increase, migration and conversion. Fertility and survival rates of Hindus were comparatively lower than those for Muslims and Christians, according to post-census studies.

The migration of Hindus from Pakistan to Bombay was responsible for a slightly higher increase in the Hindu population as compared to the general population increase during the decade. The slight decline in Muslim population was also attributed to the exodus of some to Pakistan.

The heavy increase of 30.44 per cent in the Jain population of the State was probably due to the increased immigration of Jains to Gujerat and Greater Bombay from Kutch and Saurashtra. Another reason was a better recording of Jains as Jains than was the case heretofore. The increase in Christian population is due partly to conversion and partly to increased immigration from Goa and other areas.

The reduction in Hyderabad by about 2.8 per cent in the proportion of Hindu and tribals to the general population has been explained by the conversion of a large number of Hindus and tribals to Christianity.

That the 'conversions to Christianity continue still to be by thousands' was obvious from the fact that during the present decade they have increased over 32 per cent as against the 14 per cent increase in the State population.

The decrease in the Muslim population of Rajasthan has also been explained by migration to Pakistan.

The figures for various States are:

U. P.—Hindus 53,762,925, Sikhs 197,612, Jains 97,744, Buddhist 3,221, Zoroastrians 1,258, Muslims 9,028,992, Christians 123,876, Jews 34, non-tribal other religions 80 (total 63,215,742).

Bihar—Hindus 34,316,416, Sikhs 38,703, Jains 8,656, Buddhists 1,168, Zoroastrians 455, Muslims 4,564,466, Christians 422,030, Jews 92, other tribal religions 871,434, other non-tribals 2,527 (total 40,226,947).

Orissa—Hindus 14,318,411, Sikhs 4,163, Jains 1,248, Buddhists 969, Zoroastrians 181, Muslims 176,338, Christians 141,934, Jews 72, other tribal religions 2,576 and other non-tribal religions 54 (total 14,645,946).

West Bengal (including Chandernagore): Hindus 19,510,660, Sikhs 29,867, Jains 19,116, Buddhists 81,589, Zoroastrians 1,918, Muslims 4,927,63, Christians 175,293, Jews 2,619, other tribal religions 109,294, other non-tribal religions 2,698 (total 24,860,217).

Assam—Hindus 5,894,733, Sikhs 4,107, Jains 4,245, Buddhists 22,675, Zoroastrians 27, Muslims 1,996,456, Christians 5,85,399, Jews 209, other tribals 527,712, and other non-tribals 8,144 (total 90,43,707).

Madras—Hindus 49,995,318, Sikhs 2,859, Jains 35,778, Buddhists 1,375 Zoroastrians 2,087, Muslims 4,538,136,

Christians 2,431,006, Jews 474, other non-tribal religions 8,969 (total 57,016,002).

Bombay—Hindus 31,785,614, Sikhs 38,017, Jains 5,72,093, Buddhists 2,395, Zoroastrians 97,573, Muslims 2,906,887, Christians 525,454, Jews 20,135, other non-tribals 8,982 (total 35,956,150).

Madhya Pradesh—Hindus 20,21,5607, Sikhs 33,396, Jains 96,251, Buddhists 2,841, Zoroastrians 3,066, Muslims 800,781, Christians 88,802, Jews 228, other tribal religions 1,183 and other non-religions 5,378 (total 21,247,533).

Punjab—Hindus 8,176,430, Sikhs 3,831,983, Jains 37,518, Buddhists 1,441, Zoroastrians 77, Muslims 229,080, Christians 95,293, Jews 150, and other non-tribal religions 631, persons whose enumeration records were destroyed by fire 268,602 (total 12,641,205).

Mysore—Hindus 8,177,291, Sikhs 3,247, Jains 22,936, Buddhists 1,125, Zoroastrians 470, Muslims 698,831, Christians 170,909, Jews 162, and other non-tribal religions I (total 9,074,972).

Travancore-Cochin—Hindus 5,587,852, Sikhs 275, Jains 354, Buddhists 40, Zoroastrians 38, Muslims 721,227, Christians 2,961,030, Jews 2,288, and other non-tribal religions 321 (total 9,280,425).

Saurashtra—Hindus 3,587,884, Sikhs 881, Jains 123,916, Buddhists 13, Zoroastrians 560, Muslims 422,186, Christians 1,814, Jews 69, and other non-tribal religions 36 (total 4,137,359).

Madhya Bharat—Hindus 7,333,021, Sikhs 12,521, Jains 100,234, Buddhists 219, Zoroastrians 934, Muslims 496,153,

Christians 10,947, Jews 125 (total 7,954,154).

Hyderabad—Hindus 16,088,905, Sikhs 8,449, Jains 30,287, Buddhists 145, Zoroastrians 1,992, Muslims 2,206,182, Christians 290,973, Jews 16, other tribal religions 24,503 and other non-tribal religions 3,656 (total 18,655,108).

Rajasthan—Hindus 13,862,150, Sikhs 144,233, Jains 327,763, Buddhists 41, Zoroastrians 500, Muslims 949,348, and Christians 6,762 (total 15,290,797).

P.E.P.S.U.—Hindus 1,704,349, Sikhs 1,727,935, Jains 7,578, Buddhists 219, Zoroastrians 98, Muslims 55,913, Christians 3,565, Jews 9 and other non-tribal religions 19 (total 3,493,685).

Delhi—Hindus 1,467,854, Sikhs 137,096, Jains 20,174, Buddhists 503, Zoroastrians 164, Muslims 99,501, Christians 18,685, Jews 90 and other non-tribal religions 5 (total 1,744,072).

Ajmer—Hindus 599,524, Sikhs 3,964, Jains 32,004, Buddhists 4,319, Zoroastrians 262, Muslims 48,886, Christians 4,413 (total 693,372).

Manipur—Hindus 347,325, Sikhs 50, Jains 150, Buddhists 33, Zoroastrians 1, Muslims 37,197, Christians 68,394 and other tribal religions 124,485 (total 577,635).

Tripura—Hindus 480,662, Sikhs 35, Jains 36, Buddhists 15,403, Zoroastrians 1, Muslims 136,940, Christians 5,262, and other tribal religions 690 (total 639,029).

Coorg—Hindus 199,465, Sikhs 9, Jains 54, Buddhists 16, Zoroastrians 10, Muslims 23,062, Christians 6,788, and other non-tribal religions 1 (total 229,405).

Cutch—Hindus 393,128, Sikhs 478, Jains 62,397,

Zoroastrians 49, Muslims 111,434, Christians 117, and Jews 3 (total 568,606).

Vindhya Pradesh—Hindus 3,485,083, Sikhs 559, Jains 11,835, Buddhists 7, Zoroastrians 13, Muslims 76,126, Christians 1,092 and Jews 5 (total 3,574,690).

Bhopal—Hindus 700,381, Sikhs 562, Jains 5,985, Buddhists 7, Zoroastrians 55, Muslims 128,672, Christians 812 (total 836,474).

Himachal Pradesh and Bilaspur—Hindus 1,088,841, Sikhs 5,019, Jains 34, Buddhists 2, Muslims 15,253, Christians 317 (total 1,109,466).

Andaman and Nicobar Islands—Hindus 9,294, Sikhs 126, Jains 1, Buddhists 1,604, Zoroastrians 2, Muslims 4,783, Christians 9,494, Jews 1, other tribal religions 20 and other non-tribal religions 5,646 (total 30,971).

Sikkim—Hindus 97,863, Sikhs 18, Jains 19, Buddhists 39,397, Muslims 124, Christians 304 (total 137,725).

IV

ON THE CENSUS OF PAKISTAN

BY JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.SC., B.L., F.R.S.S. (Lond.)

IN the Census of 1941 the Muhammadans, specially of Bengal, inflated their numbers under the inspiration of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haque. His speeches were almost direct appeals for inflation. A protest meeting at the Town Hall was held under the presidency of Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, former Law Member of the Viceroy's Council; and Mr. Haque had virtually to apologise by writing a personal letter to Sir N. N. Sircar. While the Hindus,

who boycotted the Census of 1931 under the Congress guidance, were asked to have themselves counted, they were also asked not to inflate their numbers. The All-Bengal Census Board under the presidency of Mr. N. C. Chatterjee issued daily appeals in the press not to inflate but to have themselves correctly enumerated; the Muhammadans acted otherwise.

That the Census of 1941 was an inflated one is the opinion of competent observers and competent authorities. Mr M. W. M. Yeats in the *Administration Report* on the Census of 1941, says at p. 21:

"In one major City, Lahore, communal passions were violent enough to destroy the value of the enumeration record . . . It was not the enumeration who wrecked the Lahore Census. It was the people themselves. Any census reposes on the householders' truthfulness and in a *pardah* country this is all the more so."

In another place, writing about the mother-tongue and subsidiary language, he says:

"Muslims were told to return their mother-tongue as Urdu and many cases were brought to my notice where men who manifestly knew nothing of that language but were Muslims by faith persisted in returning it as their mother-tongue admitting that they had been 'told' to do so. If this is how leaders imagine they can misuse a census then there is not much hope for India." In another place he observes that

"Nothing will make me believe that the number of persons actually literate in Urdu is anything like so

great as the number who returned it. The only effect of such misguided zeal is to destroy the very facts it is sought to obtain."

We need not multiply quotations. Mr. R. A. Gopalaswami, the Registrar-General of India for 1951 in Census of India—paper No. 1 of 1953, notes:

"In the 1941 Census, as is generally known, there was competition between communities in parts of Bengal and the Punjab, with the result that numbers were inflated." (p. 1).

Yet on the basis of the 1941 Census which was accepted as correct by our political leaders of the Congress and of the Muslim League, the partition of Bengal and of the Punjab took place.

The Pakistan Government now admits in their *Census Pamphlet* No. 2, that there has been an inflation on the number of Muslims. Let us give the figures for East Bengal.

(The figures are in 000's)

Year	Muslims	Hindus	Others
1931	2,48,97	1,07,12	4,30
1941	2,95,77	1,19,18	7,82
1951	3,22,27	92,39	4,66

The Pakistan authorities say at page 31 of their *Census Report*, 1951:

"Assuming that the rate of increase in the Muslim population has been rising fairly regularly it would appear that in 1941 the total strength of the Muslim element was between 270 and 280 lakhs."

In another place they say: (See p. 33)

"The Muslim increase include 7 lakhs of persons who reported themselves in the 1951 Census as Muhajirs, but the total immigrant element would appear to be between 15 and 20 lakhs."

In Statement H, they have given the adjusted communal comparison as follows:

Adjusted communal comparison (in lakhs)				
Adjusted—	Total	Muslims	Hindus	Others
1941	386	270	109	7
1951	421	322	94	5
Variations	+35	+52	-15	-2

The percentage of Muslims in 1941 was 72.3.

The total population of East Bengal (as now constituted, *i.e.*, including a portion of Sylhet) was in 1941 4,22,77,000 and in 1951 4,19,32,329; including 1,26,000 reporting their nationality as Indian. Thus there has been a net decrease of -0.8 per cent of the recorded population.

If we deduct the 20 lakh Muslim immigrants from the total recorded population, the net decrease would be -5 per cent. In their adjusted figures for 1941, they have reduced the population from 423 lakhs to 386 lakhs, *i.e.*, by 37 lakhs; and distributed this among the Muslims and the Hindus by 26 lakhs and 10 lakhs respectively. The Muslim inflation is thus 26 lakhs.

According to their own admission, the Muslims in East Bengal inflated their number in 1941 by some 10 per cent.

In the case of the Pakistan Punjab they admit inflation of Muslims. From Diagram P given at p. 37, the amount of inflation of the Muslims is of the order of 10 lakhs. The number of Muslims in the Punjab in 1951 is 183,93 thousands; of these 48,82 thousands are said to be Muhajirs. The natural population in 1951, including the inter-censal normal increase, is thus 135,11 thousands. Thus the inflation is of the order of some 7 or 8 per cent.

We shall now try to give some broad statistical details of Pakistan's population.

	Area	Population
Pakistan (entire)	3,65,907 sq. miles	7,56,87,000
East Bengal	54,501 "	4,21,19,000
<hr/>		
East Bengal as per cent of Pakistan	14.9%	55.6%

Religions Composition (as percentages)

	Mus- lims	Caste	Shedu- led	Chris- tians	Others
Pakistan	85.9	5.7	7.2	0.7	0.5
East "	76.8	10	12	0.3	0.9
West "	97.1	0.5	1.1	1.3	..

Density of Population (per sq. mile)

Pakistan	206.9	
East Bengal	772.8	
Punjab	298.7	(next best in density to East Bengal)
West Pakistan	107.8	

Percentage of Literacy

Pakistan	13.8
West Pakistan	9.7
East Bengal	16.9

East Bengal's percentage is exceeded in federal Karachi alone, where it is 31.3 per cent.

Population details of East Bengal

Muslims	3,22,26,639
Caste Hindus	41,87,353
Scheduled Hindus	50,52,250
All Hindus	92,39,603
Buddhists	3,18,951
Christians	1,06,507
Parsis	115
Tribal	30,278
Others	10,236
<hr/>	
Total Population	4,19,32,329

		<i>Population Total</i>
Area in sq. miles		
3,65,907	Pakistan	7,56,36
52,900	Baluchistan Districts	6,02
81,239	Baluchistan States	5,52
54,501	East Bengal	4,19,32
812	Federal Capital Area, Karachi	11,23
13,815	N.-W.F.P.	32,23
27,242	Tribal Area	26,42
62,987	Punjab	1,88,15
15,918	Bahawalpur	18,22
50,443	Sind	46,06
6,050	Khairpur	3,19

The number of Sikhs, if any in the Punjab, is less than 35 persons, and in Sind less than 12 persons. Thus one may say there are no Sikhs in Pakistan.

The number of Muhajirs, i.e., Muslims who have migrated to Pakistan and of Literates are as follows:

	Muhajirs (in 000's)	Literates (in 000's)	Literates as per cent of total population
Pakistan	71,50	1,03,74	13.8
East Bengal	7,01	71,08	16.9
Punjab	48,82	19,28	10.2
Bahawalpur	3,71	1,10	6.0
N.-W.F.P.	51	2,51	7.8
Tribal Area	—	33	1.3
Sind	5,61	5,02	10.8
Khairpur	11	28	8.8
Baluchistan	29	51	8.2
Baluchistan States	1	12	2.2
Federal Karachi	5,43	3,51	31.3

Percentage of Muslims

Pakistan	85.9
Punjab	97.7
Sind	96.8
N.-W. F. P.	99.8
Baluchistan	98.5
Karachi	96
East Bengal	76.8

Percentage of Muslims in Districts of E. Bengal

1. Dinajpore	64.6
2. Rangpore	79.8
3. Bogra	87.3
4. Rajshahi	80.4

5. Pabna	83.7
6. Kushtia	91.6
7. Jessore	69.7
8. Khulna	54.6
9. Bakerganj	79.5
10. Faridpore	70.7
11. Dacca	78.8
12. Mymensingh	82.9
13. Sylhet	67.7
14. Tipperah	81.3
15. Noakhali	84.2
16. Chittagong	77.3
17. Hill Tracts	6.2

We summarise below the main statistical data:
(in 000's)

Muslims	Caste Hindus	Scheduled Caste Hindus	Chris- tians	Others
6,49,59	43,49	54,21	5,41	3,66
5,94	3	1	4	—
5,43	9	—	—	—
3,22,27	41,87	50,52	1,07	3,59
10,78	5	13	21	6
32,17	—	2	4	—
26,41	1	—	—	—
1,83,93	2	19	4,01	—
18,08	1	11	2	—
41,49	1,34	3,20	2	1
3,09	7	3	—	—

From these data we may guess the difficulty of Pakistan in equating East Pakistan with West Pakistan. East Pakistan has 56 per cent of the population, 70 per cent of the literates; 90.5 per cent of the Hindus in Pakistan, but only 15 per cent of the area. East Pakistan is densely populated, while West Pakistan is thinly peopled. But 90 per cent of the Muhajirs are in West Pakistan. In this

context, it is not difficult to understand that there would be occasional shortages of food in East Pakistan. But it is not a little surprising that West Pakistan, with her large irrigated areas and a large food surplus, has thought it fit to export food rather than send it to East Pakistan in her times of difficulty and has now become highly deficit in food herself!

V
MUSLIM PERCENTAGE IN THE NATIONALITIES
OF INDO-PERSIAN CONTINENT



1—Turkis.	99	percent
2—Kurds.	100	"
3—Iranis.	99	"
4—Afghans.	100	"
5—Uzbeks.	100	"
6—Tajiks.	100	"
7—Baluch.	100	"
8—Baltis.	75	"
9—Kashmiris.	85	"
10—Punjabis.	90	"
11—Sindhis.	85	"
12—Marwaris.	10	"
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